

# *The* SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY

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APRIL, 1932

The Function of Criticism in the South  
Edwin Mims

County Consolidation as a Means of Tax Reduction  
J. W. Manning

The Prince of Darkness: Talleyrand  
Gamaliel Bradford

An Agricultural Army  
Malcolm McDermott

Keswick Revisited  
Lodwick C. Hartley

Chance in the History of Money and Banking  
Clyde Olin Fisher

Philippine-American Relations  
Vicente Villamin

Barrie: The Playwright  
Pierce Butler

The Contemporary Quest For the Great Society  
J. Fred Rippy

Book Reviews

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PUBLISHED QUARTERLY FOR  
THE SOUTH ATLANTIC PUBLISHING COMPANY  
BY THE DUKE UNIVERSITY PRESS  
DURHAM, N. C., U. S. A.

# The South Atlantic Quarterly

FOUNDED IN 1902 BY THE 9019 SCHOLARSHIP SOCIETY OF TRINITY COLLEGE

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Issued in the Months of January, April, July, and October.

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# The South Atlantic Quarterly

Vol. XXXI

APRIL, 1932

Number 2

## THE FUNCTION OF CRITICISM IN THE SOUTH\*

EDWIN MIMS

THE GENERAL public is scarcely aware of the importance of THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY as an organ of enlightened public opinion. I doubt if even those who participated as editors and as contributors realize just how significant this publication was in crystallizing the points of view of Southern liberals in the first years of this century. I wish to emphasize especially the work of the first ten years of its existence, and to recall some of the circumstances connected with its establishment and maintenance. It is a rather significant fact that all but two of those who were intimately connected with the QUARTERLY in that period are still alive, and have participated in the celebration of the thirtieth anniversary of its founding.

The very first number seems to me both significant and prophetic. It was widely different from the rather stereotyped form of the innumerable Southern magazines. In his announcement of the establishment of the QUARTERLY, Dr. John Spencer Bassett, who had suggested the publication to the society known as 9019, and who was its editor from 1902 till 1905, said, speaking for his colleagues of the society: "They feel that such a medium of publishing articles would develop young men into writers, and would at the same time give to many people a better knowledge of the conditions under which literature can be created." It would serve as "a medium

\* An address delivered at Duke University on the Thirtieth Anniversary of the QUARTERLY.

for encouraging every honest literary effort." To do this "there must be the liberty to think about the problems of to-day on all their sides. To find truth absolutely might be a good thing; the next best thing is to have as many people as possible seeking it in the spirit of honest tolerance." In an article on Virginia trade in the colonial era the editor struck a note that was to be sounded many times thereafter: "It helped powerfully to turn Virginia into the rural life. How much was lost by this devotion to agriculture the student of later Southern history will easily see. It may be said that it forestalled the literary development of the Southern people, and gave the political development a characteristic which brought first sectionalism and then isolation. It prevented the organization of the economic forces of society in their proper relation to one another so that all the factors might have their full weight in the formation of public opinion."

Dr. John C. Kilgo, at that time president of Trinity College, contributed a strong article on the prevalence of lynching, denouncing the atrocities that were often committed and prophesying the development of a militant public opinion against it. Jerome Dowd, at that time professor of economics and sociology in Trinity College, wrote with equal force of the evils of child labor:

When a child five or seven years of age is put to work in a factory and its life sacrificed in the interest of the parent or the capitalist, is that, in principle, any better than selling it into slavery or eating it? Is it not a refined form of cannibalism? There is not now a manufacturing country in the civilized world, except a few states in the South, where children without age limit are allowed to work in factories. There are about 15,000 children in the South working in factories under fourteen years of age and many of them are under ten. This is the greatest blot upon Southern civilization. . . . The agreement of North Carolina manufacturers not to work children under twelve was so hedged about by exceptions and conditions that it was a farce, and has not at all been observed. . . . The Southern pulpit and press are largely deaf and dumb. Unless there is soon a mighty awakening the critical world will rightly conclude that the last spark of Southern chivalry has disappeared.



Although there were articles on "The New Equality" by W. I. Cranford, on "Lowell, the Citizen," by Edwin Mims, and on Alfred the Great by Professors Few and Boyd, which were not concerned with distinctively Southern problems, it was evident that one of the main functions of the new publication was the creation of sound public opinion in the South. While he remained editor Dr. Bassett usually wrote a short article for each number to serve as an editorial. In April, 1902, he wrote rather sharply, in "The Bottom of the Matter," of the lack of reading and of book-buying in the South. He gave a realistic picture of a typical bookstore in a typical Southern town, with its bric-a-brac, its tennis rackets and balls, and its soda fountain that almost served to conceal the small number of books that formed the stock. He quoted a publisher as saying, "We sent a man through the South at a high salary, and at the end of ten months, he had not sold as many books as we are in the habit of selling in a single year to a rather small book-store within a stone's throw of our office."

In July, in an article on "The Problem of the Author in the South," he commented upon provincialism, due to prolonged isolation, as the explanation of the fact that "our historical writings, our essays, our economic discussions are those of a people who think crudely and feel deeply." We write as "people who are not out of the stage of uncultured animalism; we have no standards of excellence; hence, the authors we do produce go North to live." Equally notable are the poverty of our scholarship, the lack of a cultured leisure class, and the intolerance of criticism. The complete tyranny of political ideas has produced a state of affairs of which it may be said that there is perhaps "not another part of the world in which the political so completely dominates all things as in the South." What must the critic or the scholar do in view of these conditions? "If there is pessimism, it is his duty to overcome it. If there is want of scholarship at home, he must secure it where it may be had. If there is intolerance, it is his duty to endure it and to press on toward truth." Above all, he

must be willing "to work to the last capacity of the mind and the body."

In the following number the editor wrote an even more critical article on the "Reign of Passion." Calling attention to a prominent newspaper's account of a recent meeting of the Republican state convention with its Federal "pie-brigade," its "revenue doodlers," and its "bung-smellers," he explains such an attitude by the fact that the Negro question has been the only vital question since 1875, and continues:

The reign of passion has robbed politics of fair judgment; it has made well-intentioned men tolerate, and even justify, political fraud; it has helped to preserve the South's provincialism; it has produced a one-sided press; it has made it possible for the South to be solid, and this has pauperized the intellect of her statesmen—for it is true that men who do not have to battle for their ideas against able opponents do not have the capacity of forming vigorous ideas. The time has come when men ought to bring this state of affairs to an end.

After writing in succeeding numbers on the "Industrial Decay of Southern Planters" and "Two Negro Leaders" (Booker Washington and Dubois), he reached the climax of this series in an article entitled "Stirring up the Fires of Race Antipathy," which served as a boomerang for the editor, for Trinity College, and for the *QUARTERLY*. Perhaps no article published in the South within the past thirty years led to so much passionate controversy and finally to such an attack upon the principle of academic freedom. The *QUARTERLY* had such a limited circulation that it would have attracted little attention if it had not been reprinted in full in a popular North Carolina newspaper and in extracts in papers throughout the country. One statement that was universally quoted—namely that Booker Washington was the greatest man born in the South during the past one hundred years, except Robert E. Lee—was a rather incidental expression, even parenthetical. The article as a whole was an attempt to analyze the causes of race antipathy, which the author found to be the myth of the old time Negro, friction over the development of the

Negro and politics. Other sentences, in addition to the one already mentioned, were calculated to arouse public opinion to militant opposition:

The 'place' of every man in our American life is such a one as his virtues and his aspirations may enable him to take. Not even a black skin and a flat nose can justify caste in this country. . . . In spite of our race feeling, of which the writer has his share, they will win equality sometime. We cannot remove them, we cannot kill them, we cannot prevent them from advancing in civilization.

The salient feature, then, of these first two years of the magazine is to be found in the editorial utterances. Dr. Bassett was a tireless worker, carrying on the historical research which he had begun at Johns Hopkins. He was an excellent teacher, inspiring many students with a desire to understand the present by studying the past, and special students to continue their historical studies in American universities. His chief quality as an editor, aside from his frank and fearless criticism, was to stimulate his colleagues and his friends to coöperation with him in maintaining a worthy publication. All who knew him in those days feel as I do, that he was one of the chief influences in provoking us to read, to think, and to write. One of his main cohorts at that time was President Kilgo, who developed an unusually vigorous style and a remarkably fearless spirit. He wrote for almost every number during these first years. In April, 1902, in an article on the "Christian Basis of Citizenship" he formulated his conception of the function of a college in our American democracy: "Any college which fulfills its mission must take a more positive and aggressive stand for the progress of civic righteousness, and vindicate its right to live and grow in the things it can do, rather than in the things it may know. The intelligence of the South is awakening to a new life." A year later he wrote a striking article on some phases of Southern education. In October, of the same year—the very number in which Dr. Bassett's editorial stirred up the storm—he wrote of "Our Duty to the Negro," an article which, if it had not been

obscured by the more sensational words of the editor, would have been severely criticized:

By what law has the Negro been left out of the right to be a better Negro, and to render a better service? If the Negro cannot be made to fill the mission of a human life, then American civilization must acknowledge a defeat; it has found a race of people which it cannot benefit, the Christian religion has discovered a man that it cannot save. . . . God has never made any race of men who are better because they are ignorant and better in proportion to their ignorance. Industrial education is not enough for the remnant of cultivated Negroes. Their right to something more rests upon the right of every hungry soul to be fed at the best table; and to deny the strongest and the highest influence is to enslave him to a life of moral weakness and moral degradation.

Pertinently he asks why America should be concerned about the inhabitants of the Philippine Islands and not about the Negro race at home, and why church people should be concerned about the heathen of Africa more than about those who were in their kitchens and their fields. Just as the church has an obligation, so has the state, to furnish means for the development of this race. "A government does itself the greatest hurt when it makes any class of its citizens lose confidence in it, or make some doubt whether their government is concerned for their protection." With a concern always manifest in his utterances for the institution over which he was presiding, he concludes with the hope that Trinity College should "send forth a body of strong men who will lay their hands, cool and healing, on the fevered brow of agitated men, and generously give out the resources of mind and heart to those who are most in need."

Trinity College, then a small and struggling institution, was, under the leadership of its president, developing in its faculty and student body a strong sense of the responsibilities of educated men. Dr. W. H. Glasson, in an article entitled "College Professors in the Public Service," voiced the feeling of his colleagues. After reviewing some of the illustrations of his subject in other parts of the country, he concluded:

There is a large field of service for the professor which will not require his absence from his chair. He may devote himself to the championship of correct views of public affairs in his immediate locality. He may be found in the front ranks of those who are striving to secure good government in the city and state. He may be the perpetual foe of the spoilsman, the mountebank, and the demagogue in politics. College men are proving acceptable public servants in the work of investigation and information. They should not shirk the more trying responsibilities of discussion and leadership. If the responsibility is accepted and the duty discharged, there will be no further question of the degeneration of the professional office nor of his loss in the esteem and favor with the public.

That such utterances as have been noticed as coming from the faculty of Trinity College at that time—and others might be cited, notably, a very strong article by Dr. W. P. Few, now president of Duke University, on "Southern Public Opinion" (January, 1905)—were not mere words was proved by the action of the faculty and the Board of Trustees when an enraged public sentiment in North Carolina demanded the resignation of Dr. Bassett after the publication of his article already referred to.<sup>1</sup> Space does not allow me to quote in full these two statements which were published in January, 1904. Well known as they are to everyone who has been connected with Trinity College, they should be treasured as outstanding expressions of the principle of academic liberty. The late Walter Page at that time wrote to me that the action of the Trustees was "the most important event in the history of North Carolina in our time;" for free speech and free teaching had won a victory for all time. A few sentences may serve to give the attitude of the Trustees:

Liberty may sometimes lead to folly; yet it is better that some should be tolerated than that all should think and speak under the deadening influence of repression. The evils of intolerance and suppression are infinitely worse than those of folly. . . . It were better that Trinity should suffer than that it should enter upon a policy of coercion and intolerance.

<sup>1</sup>For a full account of this affair see the author's *The Advancing South*, pp. 147 ff.

If I have thus emphasized the intimate relationship between THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY and Trinity College, I am not oblivious of the fact that from the beginning men from other institutions made valuable contributions to its success. On account of the intimate relationship between the editor and other American historical scholars he was able to command from the beginning historical articles by young men just beginning their careers, many of whom have since become distinguished. William Garrott Brown spent some of his last years at Trinity College, and made valuable contributions to the QUARTERLY. Professors William E. Dodd, Walter L. Fleming, Ulrich B. Phillips, J. W. Garner, David Y. Thomas, John H. Reynolds, J. H. Latané, J. G. DeR. Hamilton, R. D. W. Connor, and E. W. Sikes—all of them now filling important positions in American colleges and universities—published in it some of the first results of their investigations in historical fields. From the beginning also teachers of English literature and critics such as Alphonso Smith, Henry N. Snyder, Edward K. Graham, Charles W. Kent, Benjamin Sledd, Archibald Henderson, Stanhope Sams and others, contributed studies of Southern writers and of general literature. The names of Walter Hines Page and Thomas Nelson Page are found among the contributors of the years now under consideration. Clarence Poe, J. W. Bailey, and Robert W. Winston wrote some of their first articles for the QUARTERLY. From the very first, educational topics covering a wide range were discussed by such leaders as Chancellor Kirkland, President Alderman, President Frisell, Prof. S. C. Mitchell, as well as by Presidents Kilgo and Few. Now and then a business man such as D. A. Tompkins discussed industrial problems, and church leaders like Dean Tillett, Dr. John E. White, and others discussed ethical and religious questions.

Of equal significance is the fact that articles by Hamilton W. Mabie, Albert Shaw, Lyman Abbott, Bliss Perry, President Gilman, Oswald Garrison Villard, President Eliot, and

Governor Folk appeared in the columns of the QUARTERLY. At least one of the editors has an interesting body of correspondence growing out of his efforts to secure articles from such men without any thought of compensation. Some of them were addresses made on important occasions, others were written especially for the magazine. One of these articles I have always taken special delight in. It is quite customary now to speak lightly of Hamilton W. Mabie, if, in fact, he is not almost completely forgotten. Fully aware of the superficiality of much of his literary criticism, I am convinced that his article on "The New North" (April, 1905) is one of the most significant articles published in any magazine in that period. It was a careful review of the changing public opinion in the North with regard to American history and Southern problems, and is an interesting parallel to all that has been said about the new South.

It might appear that the QUARTERLY was largely academic in its tone and character and that its influence was confined to a very limited circle. To offset this natural assumption I should like to cite articles by three leaders in the two largest religious denominations of the South. President W. L. Poteat of Wake Forest College, for a long time the leading layman of his church, wrote three articles on the relation of science and religion, that anticipated his widely read and criticized book entitled *Can A Man Be A Christian Today?* These articles did for the Southern public what John Fiske's *Destiny of Man* and *God in the Light of Modern Knowledge* did for the country at large. They were notable alike for their depth of thought and distinction of style. President Kilgo, in July, 1906, made a plea for the union of the Northern and Southern Methodist churches, which had great influence inasmuch as he was not only the head of one of the largest colleges of his denomination but was also one of its most prominent leaders. With a large national point of view and a real conception of the true meaning of religion he demolished the provincial and prejudiced points of view that had so long kept the two



churches apart. This article was used four years later by the advocates of union notwithstanding the change that had come over its author when he was elected to the Episcopacy—a melancholy illustration of the effect of ecclesiasticism on a strong and growing mind. Notable also was an article (April, 1906) by Dr. John E. White, at that time pastor of the largest Baptist church in Atlanta. Distinguishing between the true and the false in Southern life, he advocated the study by the South of the larger creative period of its early history. Too much emphasis, he declared, had been laid upon the Reconstruction and War periods. "The aboriginal stuff of Southern life got pocketed in history." We need now, he said, to take the long view, the view that carries us back to the origins and sources of Southern life. "Something has affected the springs of our moral and intellectual energy, something has weakened the civic social and individual capacity of Southern character to move on the plane of great progress." In view of the recent emphasis on the Reconstruction period, as displayed in books on Andrew Johnson and by Claude Bowers in his *Tragic Era*, and on the economic interpretation of the issues of the Civil War, this article could be read with special profit at the present time. It is unfortunate that Dr. White has somehow not maintained the leadership that was promised in this article—perhaps another illustration of counter-currents in Southern life.

All these articles, and others that I might cite, serve to suggest what I conceive to be the main influence of the *QUARTERLY* in its formative days. In October, 1903, I published an article on the "Function of Criticism in the South," in which I attempted to apply Matthew Arnold's essay on the same subject to Southern conditions and problems. I maintained that the reading of Arnold would fix in a Southerner's mind certain fundamental points of view about culture and criticism. What he did for the England of his time, the Southern critic could do for his. His well known definition of criticism as "a disinterested endeavor to know and propagate the best that has been



known and thought in the world," his opposition to Philistinism of all kinds, his habit of asking uncomfortable questions, his contrast between the weak points of English civilization and the strong points of other civilizations, past and present, and his formula of culture as the pursuit of perfection for the individual and the nation, were applied to the South.

As I re-read that article I find the essence of what we were trying to do in those days. I suggested that when a Southern writer speaks of the civilization of the Old South as "the sweetest, purest, and most beautiful in the history of the world," he needs to know something of other civilizations. I referred to a "bombastic and rhetorical style of oratory." We needed to insist not so much on what has been done as on what remains to be done, in education, in literature, and in the development of a sounder ethical life. I had the temerity to ask such questions as: How do the Southern statesmen of to-day compare with those of the old régime? How many institutions are there that deserve to be called universities; how many libraries, art galleries, publishers, magazines have we? Why is it that so many of our men of letters and scholars now live in other sections? Champions though we had been of the policy of free trade and government, we were in danger of putting a protective tariff on ideas. I contended that critics such as Walter Page were not the enemies but the friends of the South, and that we needed more men of his type—statesmen who would bring thought to bear on politics and saturate politics with thought, editors who would cast their eyes out over the whole world for ideas and movements, scholars who would find no restrictions in the pursuit of truth—"men in all professions who would be at once heirs of the ages and citizens of the world."

Now I like to think that some parts of the program of the Southern liberals of that period were gradually realized. There were centers of liberalism other than Trinity College and organs of opinion other than the *QUARTERLY*. What was happening in all parts of the South I tried to relate in a book

published in 1926—*The Advancing South*. Typical stories of progress in industry, in education, in literature, in journalism, in religious thought seemed to me to indicate a substantial victory at many points of the liberal cause. While I was fully aware of the forces that made for reaction and stagnation, I contended that the forces that were making for progress and liberalism were on the way to victory. Writing for people in other sections who were either prejudiced or ignorant, I tried to show the more favorable aspects of Southern life and thought that were often obscured by more sensational incidents. Writing for the more intelligent people of the South, I tried to hearten the liberals by concrete examples of their triumph in typical cases and incidents. Avoiding an uncritical or Pollyanna optimism, I contended that nothing was happening in the country at that time that was more significant than the "rise to power and influence of groups of liberal leaders who were fighting against the conservatism, the sensitiveness to criticism and the lack of freedom that have too long impeded Southern progress." I contended that the South had come a long way, but there was still a long way to go before the forces of sound and intelligent public opinion could prevail. From much experience I observed that so often the stage seems all set for wonderful progress; the obstacles seem to be removed and then something happens; there is a resurgence of the old reactionary spirit, policies, and ideas.

Well, something has happened! As I go back over the various chapters of my book, I find so many incidents and situations that belie my hopeful outlook. The agricultural prophecies of Dr. Knapp and Clarence Poe are dimmed by the universal agricultural depression; broomsedge instead of life everlasting is growing on the barren ground of Southern fields. An industrial revolution, heralded by men like D. A. Tompkins and realized by George Crawford in the Birmingham district, has ended temporarily in paralysis and in a paternalistic régime that recalls the situation in England and New England nearly a century ago. Looms and furnaces do not make the picture against the skyline that they promised.

The educational system, planned and dreamed by educational statesmen and political leaders, is fighting for its very existence and, in some instances, has actually broken down as schools close and as teachers face actual poverty. The University of North Carolina, which I selected as the best illustration of what a state university might be in the life of a commonwealth, is threatened with retrenchment and even disaster. The cause of academic freedom, so nobly championed by Trinity and Vanderbilt in their victorious struggles against political and ecclesiastical domination, has suffered recently serious defeats in Louisiana, and even more in the state of Mississippi, whose governor has done an irreparable injury to the institutions of that state. Southern scholars and critics and literary men have either become radical, showing some of the worst tendencies of modern thought, or they have become hopelessly conservative, looking back to a golden age that never was, both sets missing that balance and poise characteristic of true liberals. And liberals themselves are suffering from the breakdown of liberalism everywhere, as they fall easily into the attitude of those who wonder what is the use of struggling anyhow.

In this rather concise summary of the difference between conditions five years ago and at the present time it is apparent that the present financial depression has had a disastrous effect on many of the causes championed by liberal leaders. The necessity for economy and retrenchment is seriously affecting some of the main interests in the intellectual and social development of this section. An even worse effect, in my opinion, is the evident tendency towards reaction—a new opportunity for reactionary leaders to question and to attack some of the main points of view that have been emphasized. There has been a resurgence of passions and prejudices that were thought to be dying. Organizations as well as individuals have given expression to their criticism of the main forces of modern life—industrialism, science, nationalism, and even democracy, are all under fire. They have been able to point out that many

of the ideas and movements that were supposed to bring in a new era in the South have merely served to standardize the South in harmony with the rest of the country. The status of the present economic order and the extremes to which much modern thought and life have gone have given them an opportunity which they have been quick to seize.

The most striking illustration of this conservative tendency is found in the symposium entitled *I'll Take My Stand*, written by twelve Southerners of unquestioned sincerity and ability. The book as a whole might well be contrasted with a book made up of the most important articles in *THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY* in its first decade as defining two almost diametrically opposite points of view. It is noteworthy that some of the authors have been the students and disciples of some of the very liberal leaders who have been mentioned in this article; that most of them have been trained in the best universities of this country and abroad; that several of them have displayed ability in creative writing, and especially in poetry; that all of them are by inheritance and temperament loyal Southerners; that nearly all of them have written for the best liberal journals of national distinction. Most of them have been connected in some way with Vanderbilt University, one of the centers of liberalism in the South.

They cannot therefore be dismissed with a shrug or with a statement that they are advocating an impossible point of view. Different as they are in personality, there is a certain unity running through the book that makes it one of historic significance. Few would disagree with the moderate and discriminating chapter by Stark Young, which nicely hits off the strong points of Southern character and history, and the necessity for maintaining these qualities in any development of the future. There would be decided disagreement with the more polemic chapters of John Crowe Ransom, Donald Davidson, Frank L. Owsley, John Gould Fletcher, and Andrew Lytle. Whether they are writing of the past or of the present, they tend to support "a Southern way of life against what may be

called the American or prevailing way"; and they agree that the best terms in which to represent a distinction are contained in the phrase, "*Agrarian versus Industrial*." Touching upon practically every phase of Southern life and history, they maintain a rather militant attitude towards every form of modern progress. They attack in brilliant style the machine civilization, mass production in literature as well as in goods, the modern educational system in contrast with an older aristocratic tradition, and the philosophy of "Progress" as defined and defended by its foremost advocate, John Dewey.

Such in brief and altogether inadequate outline is the point of view of this arresting volume. That it awakened interest outside of purely academic and literary circles is evidenced by the large crowds that heard the joint debate as to the relative merits of Agrarianism and Industrialism between John Crowe Ransom and Stringfellow Barr in Richmond and other Southern cities. I am inclined to think that Ellen Glasgow with her usual good sense and humor expressed what many felt about the debate when she said that she was out of sympathy with the crude industrialism that tends to dominate some sections of the South, but that she could not work up any enthusiasm over a rural civilization dominated by hookworm and fundamentalism.

I should be inclined to say that with many of the contentions of the "twelve southerners" I agree, but with their general conclusion I cannot agree. All of us must realize that it is not wise to be in tune with some things in contemporary life and thought. All that glistens is not progress. We need to modify a famous motto and say, "Be progressive, be progressive, but be not too progressive." The South now has the opportunity to profit by some of the mistakes made elsewhere. We need industrial progress but not at the expense of the grace and charm of life; in making a living we should not forget the art of living. We need education for the masses, but we should not like to have the demands of vocational, technical, and professional training go so far as

to make liberal culture seem remote from the attainment of men and women. We need all that modern science can bring to us in the way of invention and the development of the scientific method of dealing with any situation or problem, but we do not wish to be scientific at the expense of the spiritual values of life. We need to see what critical scholarship and scientific hypotheses have done to make necessary a restatement of religious beliefs, but we do not wish to swing to the opposite extreme and exalt rationalism and scientific certainties above a reasonable and vital faith in the ultimate realities of religion. We have seen the effect of some of these tendencies on the modern mind, and we must avoid them. Intellectuals and naturalists contend that disillusionment, pessimism, and cynicism are the real tests of intelligence and art. Of what advantage is it to overcome the inertia of the masses if we are to succumb to the inertia, the decadence, of the sophisticated? Is the intolerance of the backward any worse than the intolerance of the radicals?

Having said this much of the value of the criticism of the existing order, I hasten to say that the way out of the present situation is not one of escape or of retreat, but of mastering the conditions that now confront us, difficult as they are. In other words, the critical and constructive attitude of mind was never so much needed as at the present time. New conditions give rise to a different emphasis from that which dominated the *QUARTERLY* group in the first decade of this century. If I may quote again from Dr. Bassett, I should use the words of the last editorial that he wrote for the *QUARTERLY* (October, 1904) on the "Task of the Critic":

When a critic has been through one conflict he will prepare his armor for another. When one challenge of conservatism shall have been silenced, another will appear to take its place. . . . Far worse than an excited controversy is a dwarfed and palsied public conscience which cannot be stimulated into action.

These words suggest to my mind the future rôle of *THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY*. Duke University has pro-

vided through its Press a way for the publication of scholarly research in American literature, history, and other fields. There is still room for a journal of enlightened public opinion that will be mainly concerned, though not exclusively, with the creation of right attitudes toward Southern and contemporary problems. In the January number of this year I find an article by Professor McDougall on "Religion and the Sciences of Life," which illustrates in a striking way the treatment of one of the greatest of contemporary problems. With a knowledge of the sciences which cannot be questioned he tells of his progress from agnosticism to religion, and points out clearly the way by which the contemporary mind may hold on to the ultimate realities of religion as interpreted by philosophy and poetry. Such an article ought to have wide circulation and reading; it points the way to making this magazine an even greater influence in the thought of this section and of the nation. An increasing number of scholars in the faculty of Duke University ought to find in this periodical the opportunity for interpreting their special subjects and points of view to an increasing public. Under the present managing editor—who, by the way, as a graduate student in Trinity College wrote an article for the *QUARTERLY*, and is thus a connecting link between the past and the present—and encouraged by Duke University and those who as editors and contributors made possible the maintenance of the *QUARTERLY* in its critical days, this magazine should now enter upon a new period of public service. I hope to live to celebrate with you its golden anniversary.



## COUNTY CONSOLIDATION AS A MEANS OF TAX REDUCTION

J. W. MANNING

**I**T HAS often been said that the people of the United States are overgoverned and overtaxed. Many proponents of tax reduction have idealized their objective without investigating why our contributions to the government must be so high, and without considering the causes for the high cost of government. Governmental expense is directly proportional to the demands made upon the government for various services, and yet in the performance of these services the idea prevails that we must have a large group of officials ready to serve comparatively small communities.

An examination of the various governmental divisions will reveal the fact that the local units are costing the taxpayer more money than any other in proportion to the services rendered. Thus the logical place to begin tax reduction is with the local governmental units. If the people of the several states expect any relief from growing tax burdens, they must simplify their forms of local governmental structure. Since the county, in many states, has sunk to comparative insignificance, it might be well for both the county and the taxpayers to seek some readjustment of county forms and areas to meet modern conditions; in so doing the burden of governmental costs would be reduced. The United States Census Bureau reported county expenditures at the grand total of \$491,040,754 for 1903. By 1913 this figure had risen to \$882,411,113. By 1922 the scale of county finance was about two and one-half that of 1913, and reports from a number of states indicate a further increase of about fifty per cent from 1922 to 1927. In 1913 the average per capita cost of county government was \$4.49; the most recent figures on this item indicate that the per capita cost of county government has risen about sixty per cent over that of 1913. Certainly a



unit of government which costs the taxpayers so much deserves intelligent attention.

But, the question will arise, "How can the counties be so rearranged or readjusted as to reduce the cost of government?" Few would be bold enough to advocate abolition of the county, but would not consolidation tend to remedy the evil? On the negative side there will, doubtless, be heard the parasitical objections of a group of self-seeking politicians, mere bickerings designed to perpetuate themselves on the public pay-roll. Yet these bickerings have been convincing enough to cause the great majority of taxpayers to acquiesce in demands of these local politicians and to continue to pay the cost of supporting a large body of officeholders performing functions which could easily be combined with those of other officeholders, thereby reducing the overhead by one-half.

With the modern means of transportation and communication, and a realization of the encroachment of the state and national governments in matters which were once considered local, there seems to be little need for the more than three thousand counties in the United States. The average number in a state is about sixty-five, although most of the more important states have from sixty to one hundred counties. The average county area throughout the entire country is about nine hundred seventy-five square miles, or the median area, a more significant figure, is about six hundred square miles. The median population for all the counties of the United States is about twenty thousand, although many of the counties in several Southern states are inhabited by a population much smaller than this figure. Thus the average state has about sixty counties of about six hundred square miles each, and a population of some twenty thousand people. Under modern conditions county government should function more satisfactorily in an area with a population four or five times as large as the present average unit. But instead of reducing the number in the last thirty years, the tendency has been the opposite. There are only two cases on record where the

number of counties in a state has been reduced. The first instance occurred in Tennessee in 1919, when James County, of its own free will and at its own request, was abolished and the territory was added to Hamilton County, of which Chattanooga is the county seat. This pioneer move on the part of James County has been heralded over the nation and honor has been paid to the exceptional virtue demonstrated by this county in fading away when it found itself no longer needed. Incidentally, it may be observed that the people who live in what was once James County now pay about one-half the tax they paid before the consolidation. Where, before 1919, there were less than two miles of paved roads in the county, now there are some fifty or sixty miles of improved highways; schools which previously operated but three or four months during the year are in session now eight or nine months. According to the results of a survey of conditions in the one-time James County, the people are entirely satisfied with the experiment, and would not consent to a return to the old state of affairs.

The second instance of consolidation in the United States took place January 1, 1932, when Campbell and Milton counties, Georgia, ceased to exist and the territory was added to Fulton County, of which Atlanta is the county seat. This consolidation, authorized by acts of the Georgia legislature in 1929 and 1931, was ratified by the vote of the people in the three counties in 1931. As a result of this merger Campbell and Milton counties ceased to exist and all county officers have been eliminated except the Justices of the Peace. It is estimated that well over fifty thousand dollars of overhead expense will be eliminated by this merger.

It is much easier to point out that there are too many counties in a state than it is to persuade the people of any given county to consolidate with another. It is quite natural that every county seat should desire to retain its distinction as the capital, and every politician will cling to the perquisites which come from the county organization. The fact that two,

three, five, or more counties may well get along with one courthouse, one sheriff, one assessor, one clerk, etc., does not appeal very strongly to either the county seat which would lose its courthouse, or to the officials who would lose their jobs. The fact remains, however, that the states were divided into counties many years ago, before the coming of the automobile, and in some cases, before the era of railroads. In these pioneer days, it was desirable that every citizen be within at least a day's journey of his county seat. Under modern conditions what was once a day's journey has been reduced to a half-hour's ride. Georgia, for example, has one hundred sixty-one counties averaging about 378 square miles per county. This means that by automobile one can reach the average county seat from any place in the county in less than one hour, and in most cases in half that time. In fact, a citizen of almost any county in Georgia could reach from four to five surrounding county seats within a day's time. Aside from the fact that county governments are established, there is no very practical reason to-day why one county in a well-settled state could not serve one hundred thousand people and two thousand square miles of territory, or even more.

For many of the smaller and poorer counties of several states, a reduction in number is not only desirable, but apparently necessary. With the creation of new counties has come a rapid increase in taxes for administration. Bonds have been issued for jails and courthouses; indebtedness has been shouldered to pay educational and other expenses; and salaries have added to the fearful cost. As a result, many of the smaller counties have been plunged hopelessly into debt, and are now facing a condition comparable to bankruptcy; in fact bankruptcy would be the only alternative were it not for the fact that they obtain succor from the state treasury and from other counties.

Assuming that public opinion demands a consolidation of counties, the question will arise, how may our counties be consolidated? It appears that there are two methods by which

this may be accomplished—one a natural absorption of a small unit by a larger county; the other a more artificial method of consolidation by a complete recasting of all the counties in a state. The first method has been used in James and Hamilton counties, Tennessee, and in the tri-county merger in Georgia; the other has been suggested in several states, but tried in none. In the natural absorption of one or more counties by a larger unit, the number in most states may be reduced by encouraging and permitting counties in which a comparatively large city is located to absorb the surrounding rural units, combining these into a new county. According to the second plan—artificial consolidation—the present boundary lines of counties would be abolished and the entire state recast into the required number of new county units, these to be grouped around cities of some importance near the center of the new counties. Such a summary means of consolidation may require a radical change in many state constitutions, but such changes are needed both as an improvement of government within the counties, and as a means of saving a great deal of waste in the taxpayers' money.

Local pride and the opposition of politicians may cause any county consolidation scheme to appear quite impractical, but in spite of this, one constantly hears rumblings that some readjustment must be made in our county areas. It "persists in cropping out periodically as people search for a solution to the county problem." The question of consolidation has been, and is now being considered by tax commissions in a number of states; and wherever such matters are investigated, the reports always recommend a reduction in the number of counties. Proposals looking toward the reduction have been made by official bodies, the press, or investigators and interested citizens in North Carolina, Virginia, Ohio, Massachusetts, Idaho, California, Colorado, Georgia, Kentucky, Tennessee, Arkansas, Kansas, and New York. Two counties in Tennessee were consolidated in 1919, with happy results for both. Campbell and Milton counties, Georgia, became a part

of Fulton County on January 1, 1932. Former Governor Smith of New York has suggested a plan for reducing the present number of counties in that state—sixty-two—to about forty. A commission appointed by Governor Gardner of North Carolina to study the county situation, recently made its report, recommending the merging of several counties in that state. No action has been taken on the recommendation. In the other states mentioned there appears to be rather persistent demands that the number of counties be reduced, but consolidation is still in the ideal stage.

Despite the opposition of local politicians who have fed so long at the public treasury, absolute necessity for the reduction of governmental costs is facing many of the counties of the several states, and slowly but surely we are coming to consolidation as a remedy for our county situation. After all, the taxpayers are the ones to be consulted on this matter, and if they can be persuaded that a reduction in the number of counties means an enormous saving in the cost of government with a more efficient administration, there can be no valid reason why many of our counties cannot be consolidated.



## THE PRINCE OF DARKNESS: TALLEYRAND

GAMALIEL BRADFORD

SHAKESPEARE tells us that "the Prince of Darkness is a fine gentleman." Prince Talleyrand was one, in the narrower sense of the term at any rate. Also, he had a further amazing resemblance to the greater Prince of Darkness not only in his apparent lack of moral convictions, but in the extraordinary murky obscurity under which he veiled his spiritual processes, even when he seemed to indulge in a careless and candid abandonment of speech. His close friend, Madame de Staël, could call him "the most impenetrable and indecipherable of men." Madame de Maintenon said of herself that she wished to remain an enigma to posterity. So Talleyrand is reported to have said: "I wish that for centuries men may continue to discuss what I was, what I thought, and what I desired." Truly the subtle inventions of human egotism are illimitable.

The almost centenary career of Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Perigord sweeps through as varied and complete a circuit as that of any human being who ever lived. Born in 1754, in the flower of the old French régime, his aristocratic connection enabled him in youth to enjoy the full relish of that brilliant period. Destined against his will for the Church and even rising as high as the bishopric of Autun, he threw it over and became politically active against his own order in the first years of the Revolution. In England on a diplomatic mission in 1792, his further absence in that country and in America kept him out of the worst violence of the Reign of Terror. When he returned to France in 1795, he became foreign minister under the Directory, the Consulate, and the Empire. Talleyrand gradually drew away from Napoleon when he fell and was a main instrument in the restoration of the Bourbons. Again for a brief period he was foreign minister under Louis XVIII. Then, after an interval of retire-



ment, in 1830 when he was nearly eighty years old, he went as ambassador to England and performed the most distinguished service of his career. He died at his country estate of Valençay, in 1838, perhaps the most notable if certainly not the most admirable figure in Europe.

In considering Talleyrand's character it is necessary to take into account first of all the repression, the distortion, produced by the crippling lameness which hampered him all his life and the consequent indifference and estrangement of his family, who fixed their worldly expectations on his younger brother, turning the elder over to the ecclesiastical career he thoroughly detested. This family neglect has perhaps been exaggerated. It may have been no more than the usual treatment accorded to those in similar situations. But it was real, and on a temperament like that of Charles Maurice it must have had its effect.

How far his natural temper was really modified by these conditions it is of course impossible to say. But there are many hints of an original kindliness, susceptibility, and even tender affection. There seems to be a suggestion of natural profound sensibility which only needed development to have controlled the man's life. For example, he was a lover of animals, and left a definite legacy for the care of his dog Carlo.

But if the sensibility was there, it was crushed, distorted, subdued, till there was very little of it left. The youthful repression, the clerical isolation, produced an artificial stolidity, a habit of concealing, repelling, resenting emotions, which finally disposed of them almost entirely. This artificial make-up of character is admirably suggested by Madame de Rémusat: "Monsieur de Talleyrand, more factitious than anybody else in the world, has contrived to make himself a natural character of a quantity of habits formed by design; he sticks to these in every situation, as if they had the force of an inborn temperament."

Yet, for all this artificial stolidity, the man in earlier years



could write to a woman friend: "Separated from all the interests of my heart, I am occupied only with the ideas that can restore me to them, and restore me to them permanently, so that I may live with them independently of the rest of the world and may form with a few friends a little globe of our own, quite impenetrable to all the follies and wickednesses that possess our unhappy Europe." And in general it seemed as if the fine touch of a woman had the power to break through the hard enameled surface. There is the graceful story of the young abbé's first love-affair, the girl whom he meets in a church porch in a shower, conveying her home under his umbrella and confiding to her the secrets of his clerical loneliness. There is the long and varied series of more or less scandalous connections, scandalous even for a layman, touched occasionally with what seems like real passion, as in the ardent outcry: "I love you with all my soul. I find all things endurable when I am near you. You! You! You! That is what I love more than anything else in the world." And there is the supreme, dramatic culmination in the marriage, the marriage at fifty years of age, of the cleverest man in the world, the man who seemed least likely to be duped, to a woman who if not the stupidest in the world, was certainly stupid enough.

Curiously, something of the same situation appears with that very first love-affair, for Talleyrand himself says of the young woman: "I have since been told that she had not much sense: although I saw her almost daily for two years, I never noticed it." And as to the showy, disreputable adventuress, whom he finally married, when it was also objected that she had not much sense, he remarked: "A clever woman often compromises her husband, a stupid woman compromises nobody but herself." Madame Grand, née Worlée, was confessedly a woman of extraordinary physical beauty. Her hair especially was universally admitted to be dazzling, or, as the old dramatist has it, she had more hair than wit. But when the emperor forced his minister to marry her or give her up, the passion had already more or less smouldered into a habit,

and the minister must have realized that he was putting the final, fatal seal upon his rupture with the Church. The explanation is to be sought in the strange listless indifference which the man managed to unite with immense potentialities of power, as is delicately suggested in the comment of Madame de Rémusat: "Monsieur de Talleyrand has a gentleness and great indifference in the daily habits of life. It is easy to dominate him by terrifying him, because he dislikes a disturbance."

Even in his friendships with men the earlier Talleyrand shows something of sensibility. But as years passed on, these tender sentiments were crushed out, daubed over, or in some way disposed of, and the relation of friendship, as it appears in later years in the person of Montrond, is much less attractive. Montrond was a supremely clever rascal, almost as clever as Talleyrand himself, and perhaps even more rascally—and he was an immensely useful agent in shady transactions of all sorts. They used each other, and they respected each other's cleverness at any rate, but such words as esteem and affection hardly entered into the matter. The relation is well summed up in the little exchange of thrusts. "Do you know why I like Montrond?" asked Talleyrand. "Because he has not many prejudices." And Montrond retorted, like a flash: "Do you know why I like Monsieur de Talleyrand? Because he has no prejudices at all."

The whole working and development of the stunting, thwarting spiritual process cannot be better indicated or analyzed than in Talleyrand's own account of it to Madame de Rémusat: "You see, situated as I was, I had either to die of distress or to toughen myself so as not to feel what I could not have. I fell back on the toughening, and I am willing to agree with you that it was a mistake. It would perhaps have been better to suffer and to retain my faculty of feeling deeply; for the indifference of the soul, which you reproach me with, has often disgusted me with myself. I have never loved others enough; but I have never loved myself enough either, and I have never taken enough interest in myself."

## II

Besides the blight resulting from youthful isolation, another most essential element has to be taken into account in considering Talleyrand's character, namely, his attitude toward money. Every period of revolution is always financially unstable. Fortunes are made and disappear with sudden, inexplicable rapidity and ease, and men quickly lose their sense of pecuniary scrupulousness unless they have unusual habits of restraint and conscience. Talleyrand never had any habits of this kind, and although the temper of his age has been pushed hard to make excuses for him, it is generally admitted that he would have been exceptional in any age. One of the most lenient of his biographers says that "his great defect was a boundless love of money or rather a complete absence of scruple as to the means of obtaining it."

The root of the matter of course was that he wanted money, needed it, or thought he did, to gratify one of the most expensive sets of tastes with which a man was ever endowed. Riches, ever more riches, that was the cry. "I have always been rich," he said to Vitrolles. "Even when I was an exile in America I had a habit of living, I had a house just such as I have here." On which Vitrolles remarks that "the lie was as big as the house." And on another occasion Talleyrand is credited with saying that "society is divided into two classes, the shearers and the shorn: one should always be with the first as against the second." Whether he said it or not, it certainly represented the habitual policy of one whom Stendhal excellently summed up as "a man of incomparable cleverness who never had enough money."

The dire need appears most effectively in the appeal to Madame de Staël, when she was endeavoring to persuade Barras to give Talleyrand the post of foreign minister: "My dear child, I have only twenty-five louis, not enough to go through the month. You know that, as I cannot walk, I have to have a carriage. If you do not find some means of giving me a suitable position, I will blow my brains out." And the

ecstasy resulting when the need was satisfied shows even more vividly in the almost delirious murmur, as the new minister drove in his carriage to accept the above appointment: "We've got the place: now we must make *une fortune immense, une immense fortune, une immense fortune, une fortune immense.*" So that the same Madame de Staël, when she felt that she was treated with neglect and ingratitude, could cry out with some justice: "Money, always more money, that is what you have thought of all your life."

There were three principal sources from which Talleyrand obtained his enormous supply of wealth. In his early life and indeed always, more or less, he was a gambler. Gambling of all sorts was a rage, a passion in the society of his youth, and he participated in it with the coolheaded ingenuity that characterized him in every thing. I do not find any evidence that he was ever carried away. He was not the kind to stake his whole fortune on one throw—unless he had previous information as to what the turn of the throw might be. He himself says, "Gaming occupies, but does not preoccupy." He did not let it preoccupy him unduly. But it was always an amusement. Up to his very last days whist was his relaxation: "Whist was the favorite distraction of the minister. He remained faithful to it all his life. Also he played with passion at a game of dice, imported from England, called creps (sic); he staked considerable sums on this." And the amusement might be a moderate source of income, when other things failed.

But other things were vastly better than the gambling table. There was speculation of all sorts, and wherever he happened to be, whatever he happened to be doing, Talleyrand had a quick eye for a chance to make money. There was always the stock-market. A foreign minister has prodigious opportunities in this line. To be sure, some ministers have scruples. Talleyrand had none. And the story was that he kept the accommodating Montrond below in his carriage during diplomatic conferences, so that he might be sent off to buy or sell the instant a decision was arrived at.

Also, a foreign minister has other opportunities for financial gain besides those directly affecting the stock-market, and Talleyrand was believed, perhaps we may say proved, to have taken advantage of these with a corruption and a venality almost unparalleled and incredible. An instance that comes home to readers of American history is the celebrated case of the X Y Z letters, in which Talleyrand tried to bargain with the American commissioners for large sums to be paid to himself and to the Directors. But this is only one example of many. The man reached out and took from everybody, right and left, and when even he felt that he could not take with decency, there was always Montrond or somebody equally obliging to take for him. No one is more severe than Madame de Staël, who had loved Talleyrand and knew him thoroughly: "He sold the Consulate, he sold the Empire and the emperor, he sold the Restoration; he sold everything, and he will not cease to sell until his last day everything he can sell and even everything he cannot."

The total of Talleyrand's accumulation from all these various sources, as reported, sounds often fabulous. All the different governments he served paid him huge pensions, and irregular sums kept rolling in from all quarters. It was said that his gains during the two years preceding the Consulate alone were thirteen million, six hundred and fifty thousand francs.

Sainte-Beuve, who discusses Talleyrand at unusual length, is unusually severe on this point of his financial corruption. The two men were alike in some ways, in their sexual irregularity and in their profound scepticism. But Talleyrand had little regard for truth while Sainte-Beuve was almost meticulously veracious, and no man could ever charge Sainte-Beuve with violating his conscience for money. It is perhaps therefore natural that the critic should emphasize the deadly trail of infection that the greed for money is sure to carry with it. Talleyrand is often credited with kindness and even generosity, he says, and this cannot be disputed. "Yet, where their

personal interest is affected, heaven preserve us from the kindness of those who are fundamentally corrupt!" And the gleam of gold shines everywhere in this description which Madame de Staël gives of Talleyrand under a feigned name: "In the bottom of his heart he loved nothing, believed in nothing, concerned himself about nothing; his one idea was to succeed, he and his followers, in all the interests which make up worldly life and fortune and repute." Yet, after all, perhaps he of us who has never done a mean thing out of regard to money should be first to cast a stone.

### III

Among all Talleyrand's various needs for money the chief was undoubtedly his constant requirement of social life and activity. He wanted to have people about him always, to be bustling and stirring among them. He could not feel that he was alive himself unless he was an energetic agent in the lives of others. He wanted to use them, to move them, to direct them, he wanted to study them, with endless and inexhaustible curiosity.

It is interesting to see how this social motive and habit and atmosphere pervade and control every aspect of the man's life. Take the intelligence. Few could have been naturally quicker or keener. When he was forced into a great library by the dreaming solitude of his youth, he took to it greedily. Yet in all his long life I find no evidence of the slightest intellectual enthusiasm. Books were useful. You could make good profit of them for handling men and women, you could make good talk of them, which would help you to work your way in the world. But books and libraries in themselves—why bother with them?

The same thing appears to be true of all aesthetic interests. With nerves so quick and so variedly responsive, one would think that the man must have been infinitely susceptible to beauty in all its forms. If so, I find no trace of it. He liked a gorgeous palace and a widely equipped and variegated



park. But he liked them wholly as a background to human passions and human diversions. It is impossible to imagine him strolling in solitary woodland for the pure delight of birds and flowers. He would have laughed at the idea. He bought expensive pictures and statues and liked to show them. I have no reason to suppose that he ever looked at them when he was alone, and the true lover of such things loves them chiefly in solitude.

In short, the man's life was essentially, if not entirely, social, a life of contact, of human influence, of impression, of appearance, and the question immediately arises as to how he appeared to his fellow human beings. In early years he seems to have been attractive in spite of his trailing infirmity. A certain aristocratic reserve did not injure him, and this easily softened and mellowed into a winning and even sympathetic response. The accounts of his appearance toward the end, when the efforts of his tribe of devoted valets sent him forth to dominate Paris and London society, are really remarkable, and in the vivid description of Raikes we read of "his piercing gray eyes, peering through his shaggy eyebrows, his unearthly face, marked with deep stains, covered partly by his shock of extraordinary hair, partly by his enormous muslin cravat, which supports a large protruding lip drawn over his upper lip, with a cynical expression no painting could render; add to this apparatus of terror his dead silence, broken occasionally by the most sepulchral, guttural syllables."

Silence is here emphasized. But of course the most permanently distinctive feature of Talleyrand was his talk, and it is that impression which most lingers in the memory of men. Oddly enough silence was a conspicuous element of it. He was said to be a most delightful talker with one companion, "delicious in the little square space of a hackney coach." In larger companies he rarely engrossed the conversation or asserted himself in elaborate monologues: "he will remain silent for a whole evening, listening to what passes, and will then perhaps make some very clever or pointed re-

mark, which every one will afterwards repeat." But rarely has the art of such pointed remarks been more finished or more exquisite. The reported achievement of many great talkers, Sydney Smith for example, is apt to lose its relish. But the keen sayings of Talleyrand, worn as many of them are, sparkle and glitter, even in the hundredth repetition, with a singular delicacy and cruel grace.

And through it all he had an inexplicable and enthralling social charm. Even when you knew perfectly well what he was, it was difficult to resist him. Madame de Staël, who had every reason to hate him, said, "If you could purchase the conversation of Monsieur de Talleyrand, I should ruin myself." And another lady, who knew him almost equally well, is even more enthusiastic: "In spite of everything he had a charm that I have never found in any other man. You might be armed at every point against his immorality, his conduct, his vices, against everything he could be reproached with, yet he won you just the same, as the bird is fascinated by the gaze of the serpent." While there is the brief, effective phrase of the Pope, who again might not be expected to be wholly favorable: "Monsieur de Talleyrand! Ah! Ah! May God have his soul; as for me, I am very fond of him."

#### IV

With a person so thoroughly practical as Talleyrand, it might be expected that the gift of conversation, like all others, would be put to practical use, and what use could be more practical for it than politics? Thus from a very early period Talleyrand was tempted into the political world, and he never again stepped out of it. Probably few men have had such a vast and varied career of this order, from the tumult of the Revolution, through the shifting transformations that succeeded, up to the Empire, with its dramatic downfall, and the reigns that again followed. And through it all Talleyrand kept his eye on the multiform transformations that went on before him: "he loves society and politics and when his time



comes, you will see that he will die with a newspaper in his hand," writes Madame de Lieven to Earl Grey, and his finger on the human heart, we might add.

As to his industry and power of labor in these political avocations accounts differ. He appeared indifferent and indolent. From his early patron, the Duc de Choiseul, he learned the art of making others do all he could, and his celebrated injunction, "*surtout, messieurs, pas de zèle,*" gave the impression of dilettante idleness. But undoubtedly he had that power of intellectual concentration which goes further in accomplishment than anything else.

As to abstract political ideas, there is not so much to be said in Talleyrand's case. In one department he appears as a strong and original thinker, that of finance. His dealing with financial problems under the Constituent Assembly was forcible, clear, and conservative, and he fought the tendency to fiat money with an energy and persistence that was perhaps hardly to be expected from such a source. But as regards the broader fundamental problems of government, Talleyrand's thinking is barren and unproductive. To be sure, in his youth he seemed to enter with enthusiasm into the ideal movement of the Revolution and some of his biographers accept all his preaching of those days as gospel. To me it rings a little hollow. Very likely he thought he meant it and felt it, but I cannot believe that it took hold of him very deeply.

And as the years went on, he grew more and more conservative, rather, the intensely aristocratic bent of his inheritance and temperament more and more asserted itself. The world was made for his class and it was for the good of the world that his class should rule it. He could hardly conceive and certainly could not support any other solution. As he put it to Madame de Lieven: "The old governments alone offer repose and happiness to individuals. Constitutions are follies; nations will have nothing to do with them because they have conservative instincts."

So the sum of Talleyrand's political action may be said

to have been balance, adjustment, arrangement, compromise, or if the balance was violently distorted and thrown out, the effort to restore it and put things back where they had been. The most fruitful, valuable, and constructive element of Talleyrand's political labor in these harmonizing directions was unquestionably his love for peace and his active working for it. He detested war, felt it to be stupid, disastrous, and utterly unnecessary, and such a disposition, in the riotous and bellicose world he lived in, was of the utmost utility. Thus his labors at the Congress of Vienna and again under the Restoration in 1830 were indisputably of the greatest profit not only to France but to Europe. To be a power for peace in the first quarter of the nineteenth century was almost as noble a distinction as it was in the first quarter of the twentieth.

And in working for peace Talleyrand displayed all the most notable gifts and aptitudes of the diplomat, so that he will probably always stand out as the most conspicuous example of the type. He had the inexhaustible patience, the indomitable persistence, the tireless readiness to accept defeat in the habit of perpetually renewed effort. He had the impenetrable reserve, the power of significant silence, and also the instinct of just the right word in the right place. But what is most astonishing of all is his repeated emphasis upon good faith and straightforward dealing. Sainte-Beuve smiles cynically at the good faith of a Talleyrand. Yet after all it seems that he was large enough to appreciate that when big people are dealing with big interests, open, straight-out, direct dealing has its advantages, even from the point of view of selfishness.

The most curious application of Talleyrand's passion for peace is in his relations with Napoleon. For it happened to this lover of peace to be consistently attached to the greatest fighter of the world. The consequence was that during the whole fifteen years of their connection the minister was, if not thwarting the policy of his chief, at any rate acting as a check upon it. To Napoleon it appeared, and especially afterwards,

as if this meant a course of persistent betrayal. And it is certainly a singular feature of Talleyrand's career that from first to last he at least seemed to have betrayed a long succession of leaders and always, invariably, to his own advantage in the end.

Yet how endlessly curious it is to get the different psychological points of view in these matters. Napoleon and the rest, as they were betrayed, loudly called it betrayal. Talleyrand quietly insisted that it was nothing of the kind. The highest loyalty in the world was the loyalty to one's country, and from the beginning to the end he had been faithful to France, had worked for France, had only deserted those who had first deserted her. Yet with it all one feels that the betrayals were there and no amount of ingenious apology can explain them away. Self was at the bottom, self-advancement, self-aggrandisement, even when it was not self in its lowest form of money greed. The odd thing is that this is quite compatible with what is suggested in Talleyrand's remark to Madame de Rémusat, already quoted, that he had never cared enough about himself. He did not care so very much about himself, but he cared infinitely less about others. And it is precisely in this not caring, this profound spiritual indifference) that I should seek the explanation of the further curious fact that Talleyrand, with all his varied political activity, never manifested the slightest gift of leadership. He was always working for his own hand and by himself. No one believed in him or followed him or trusted him. There was never any serious question of putting him at the head of things, except for the brief accident of the Provisional Government in 1814. No one would have wanted to see him in such a position. I am not aware that he had a single devoted follower except Montrond, who was patently interested in what he could get. Talleyrand had many of the qualities of great success, but the qualities of the leader of men were distinctly not among them.

## V

It is in this aspect of leadership that Talleyrand is most strikingly contrasted with Napoleon, who was one of the greatest of born leaders of men. And in general it is not the least interesting element in Talleyrand that he was so long and so intimately associated with the great emperor whose soul is assuredly one of the most curious subjects of study that the world affords. The two men were both keen and profound observers, they had the best possible opportunities for observing each other, and they uttered their observations freely for the benefit of careful recorders who have passed them on to us.

They both admired each other, each appreciating in the other the qualities that he himself lacked, and at the same time they both despised each other thoroughly. There were times when Napoleon was discontented, could not himself see what it was in Talleyrand that went so far. He complained that "he could not conceive how any one could find Monsieur de Talleyrand eloquent: he turns always upon the same idea." Then again he was forced to praise the infinite ingenuity and adaptability that had so often served his purposes: "He is a man of intrigues, of a great immorality, but of extraordinary intelligence, and certainly the most capable of all the ministers I have had." Yet all the time underneath there was a profound mistrust, which in the after reflections of later years broke out into a poignant regret: "If I had hanged two men, Talleyrand and Fouché, I should still be on the throne." And the deeper, more general attitude well appears in the observation of Madam de Rémusat, which applied more to Talleyrand than to any one else: "What Bonaparte dreaded most in the world was that anybody near him should use, or even possess, the faculty of judgment."

Assuredly no one exercised that faculty with more cool and relentless insight than Talleyrand, and the petulant sensibility of his master was no doubt perfectly well aware of those keen eyes always watchful to penetrate into the inmost recesses

of his hidden motives. In the early days Talleyrand, like so many others, came more or less under the spell of that exciting, infectious, magnetic spirit, which had always the gift of imparting to even the dullest the inspiration of its own magnificent dreams. In many respects the admiration continued until the end, so that the cynical Montrond could even check the expression of it by the cool comment: "You may well eulogize him, for you have done him damage enough." But as time went on, the critical observer grew increasingly aware of the defects and especially of the fatal and inevitable consequences of them. As to the general, final judgment of Napoleon's career, perhaps it could not be better summed up than in his minister's brief and overwhelming verdict "What an anticlimax in history! To give one's name to a series of adventures instead of fastening it upon one's age! When I think of all that, I am overcome with profound regret."

With this perpetual play of cool mutual judgment in the background, nothing can be more impressive than the direct working of these two intensely contrasted and intensely significant temperaments upon each other, for the force of circumstances was such that the two were violently thrown together at every step. Napoleon constantly turned to Talleyrand for advice and assistance, knowing that there was no one who could help him out of a critical diplomatic situation with such facility and effect. Even after Talleyrand had ceased to be foreign minister and was exercising court functions only, the emperor appealed to him and would have liked to have him back, if Talleyrand would have agreed. Yet all the time Napoleon was suspicious, knew that all sorts of intrigues and certainly thieveries were going on behind his back, and when his temper gave way, he would burst out into the most violent and abusive tirades, such as his native Corsican insolence taught him to use when he needed them: "You are a robber, a coward, a man without faith, you do not believe in God."

And all the time Talleyrand maintained his utter impas-

sivity and said nothing or merely murmured, after the scene was over, "What a pity so great a man should have been so ill brought up!" When the storm had passed, he would regain his supremacy with some touch of the wheedling grace of intimate comprehension that always linked the two together. And under cover of these things he managed probably to give his master more needed and useful advice than he ever received from any other quarter. The skill and tact with which it was done appear in Talleyrand's own remark: "I am of the opinion that one can say everything to the emperor because his superiority is so great that he will understand everything." Yet, however impassive you may be in appearance, perhaps all the more because you are impassive, such treatment tells in the end, and human nature being what it is, it is not altogether surprising that Napoleon's downfall should have come to Talleyrand like a personal deliverance and a personal revenge.

## VI

The keenness and subtlety of Talleyrand's observation of Napoleon impel one to consider more generally his observation of mankind at large. Assuredly no human being ever had more opportunity for such observation. His long sojourn in various countries, his contact with all sorts of people, high and low, afforded him an almost unequaled basis of judgment, and it cannot be questioned that he had the gift to take advantage of it. From the fierce excesses of the French Revolution to the polished artificiality of English court society, all circles had been opened to him and all circumstances had become familiar.

Also, he not only had the opportunities, but he profited by them, even reveled in them. Observation of life and character was an infinite entertainment to him, perhaps the only entertainment that did not pall as the years went on. To discriminate, to distinguish, to analyze, was an unfailing joy. And the profit of such analysis is as great as the amusement. When you want to make use of men for your purposes, above all



when you make money by them, you must watch their every action and their every motive with the most particular care.

With Talleyrand's temperament and with his vast experience, it is sometimes surprising to hear him speak as he so often does of individuals with admiration and esteem. It is like his enthusiasm for the working of *bonne foi* in diplomacy. It is not only of the friends of his youth, of Narbonne, of Choiseul, but there is the same extravagant praise of Fox, of Hamilton, of various others. There seems at times to be a touch of almost naïve candor, as when he says of himself, "Pray tell me what is true of all this, for I always believe what you say. When I like a person, I believe them (sic); sometimes I have been mistaken; nevertheless such is my nature."

But the general tone is not quite so optimistic. After all, with an intelligence like Talleyrand's, the dislike of being duped is the prominent impulse, and he did not propose to be duped into any undue confidence in the ability or the honesty of mankind. You should treat men as if they were intelligent and commend them as if they were wise, but in your inmost thought your conclusions were likely to be very different, and if government was your business, you must not assume or expect too much: "If you want to make legislation that will be practical for the use of mankind, you must treat men according to what they always have been and always will be." The remark is just, and far-reaching, but perhaps not too encouraging.

The curious exception to Talleyrand's general contempt for humanity is his tenderness, not to say blindness, with regard to women. We have already seen his comment about his early love, that some people thought her stupid, but for his part he never noticed it, and the same indifference extended to the divine stupidity of the lady he married. Whether he was eighteen, or eighty, if you had charm, you could win him, and he was as much infatuated by the Duchesse de Dino and

by Pauline, as by the young woman under the umbrella fifty years earlier.

Finally, one asks how this supreme analyst stood in the crucial analysis of all, that of oneself. Here again, as with the women, he does not seem quite so supreme. Whether it was that there was less profit in self-analysis, or whether he thought the particular subject he was concerned with would not bear too much inspection, or whether he really dissected more than he revealed, it is difficult to say. But the five vast volumes of his memoirs are about as barren of self-revelation as so many pages could well be. And the more casual glimpses of him that occur so widely are hardly more fruitful. Talleyrand, for instance, would have been utterly incapable of the bare and terrible self-exploration with which Napoleon tears the mask from his soul in the passage in which he proclaims to Talleyrand himself: "*Frankly, I am a contemptible coward, essentially contemptible: I give you my word that I should have no repugnance to commit what the world calls a dishonorable action.*" Self-analysis such as this was beyond Talleyrand's reach or desire. In one of his bitter and caustic touches, he is said to have remarked when some one insisted that Fouché had a great contempt for human nature, "*To be sure: He has made a careful study of himself.*" But I think if Talleyrand had made a more careful and more profound study of himself, he would perhaps have had less contempt for human nature and would at any rate have made a more profitable use of it.

## VII

After such consideration of Talleyrand's acute judgment of his fellow-men, one turns naturally with much curiosity to his judgment of God, but it is evident that this subject interested him at all times far less than the other. There was more than a profound, fundamental scepticism, more than the rooted indifference, as he expressed it, "*the discouragement of a man who has been a witness of everything and has seen through everything*"; there was the bitter rebellion against the



oppression and repression of his youth, which kept him in early years consistently hostile to the Church and everything connected with it. As he himself says of that formative period: "More thoughtful than is usual at the age I was then, rebellious, but powerless, indignant, without either daring to or being justified in displaying my indignation."

The estrangement from all religious matters seemed for long years to be complete. And the man's nominal position as bishop of Autun and his use of that position in connection with the Revolutionary attempt to detach the State from the Church, culminating in his consecration of the State bishops and his performance of Mass at the great ceremonial in honor of the destruction of the Bastille, in 1790, only made the inconsistency more glaring and hideous. Of all this even the supremely sceptical Sainte-Beuve says: "One suffers at such a parody. Even if all religion is put aside, common decency revolts." And the estrangement seemed to be finally perfected by Talleyrand's marriage, though this took place without much enthusiasm on his part and when his attitude was already beginning to be somewhat uncertain.

For the most curious thing in the whole matter is his gradual return to the Church in his last days. This does not seem to have been any question of spiritual disturbance, any revival of emotional associations of an earlier time. If these things had any pull for him, it does not appear. But what did hold him, and held him more and more, was the consciousness of belonging to the aristocratic class which had kept the world, his world, together, and religion was above all things the stamp of that class. "There is nothing less aristocratic than incredulity," he said, and even more profoundly characteristic is the remark, "I have but one fear, that of doing something to violate the proprieties." Now the Church was the essence and the acme of all proprieties. Therefore let us be reconciled to the Church. And yet—and yet—let us put it off till the last moment. And he did, not signing the recanta-



tion of his errors till his weeping women feared it would be too late.

But under it all I cannot divine very much of God. It was all done in the spirit of Voltaire: "You are right, we ought to come back into the sphere of the Church, we ought to die in the religion of our fathers and of our country: if I had been born on the banks of the Ganges, I should want to expire holding the tail of the sacred cow in my hand." The sacred cow, or the sacred wafer, what difference did it make to Charles Maurice de Talleyrand-Périgord? And in a passage of unusual penetration and self-analysis, he strikes the final, desolating balance as to God and as to himself: "Here are eighty-three years passed. I do not know whether I am satisfied when I recapitulate how so many years have slipped away, or how I have managed to fill them. How many useless agitations! How many efforts that have been unfruitful, exaggerated emotions, powers wasted, gifts cast away, hostilities inspired, solid poise overturned, illusions destroyed, passions and desires satiated and rendered vain! And what is the result of it all? Moral and physical fatigue, complete discouragement for the future, and profound disgust for the past." Such seems to be the epitaph and the epitome of the Prince de Talleyrand, after eighty-three years of piling up a fortune and duping God and man.

## AN AGRICULTURAL ARMY

MALCOLM McDERMOTT

**D**URING THE dark winter of 1917-1918, a gentleman given to sage remarks delivered himself in the following fashion, "This war," said he, "is an awful thing." From the group of enforced listeners a caustic wag replied, "I guess you're right, brother, though I never heard it expressed just that way, before." A similar retort might well be made to much of present-day discussion of the subject of unemployment, which generally ends with the assertion that "something will have to be done about it."

The time is at hand when definite plans must replace mere generalities in meeting the tragedy of a force of unemployed American men variously estimated at from five to eight millions. Whether this count is meant to include "women and children" has not been made clear. Even high officials have ceased to deny the existence of this unhappy host; the misery that follows in its train is apparent in every community.

To date, no constructive, organized effort has been attempted for grappling with the situation in statesmanlike fashion. The Red Cross has announced that it deals only with "acts of God," implying, apparently, that unemployment is the product of some sinister power. Presidential and other fact-finding, or job-finding, commissions are seeking to function, when there are no jobs. A dramatic appeal to American industry to create jobs by undertaking new projects, not justified by existing conditions, could have the effect merely to elicit patriotic promises that could scarcely be materialized. The drive for enormous expenditures on public works is logically resisted by the already over-burdened tax payer who is sadly familiar with this form of extravagance and is begging for a reduction in the cost of government. The wily politician is hinting at a dole, despite the pernicious

fallacy of such a system and its disastrous failure in England.<sup>1</sup> Others are talking in terms of unemployment insurance which is but a first cousin to the dole, and the ineffectiveness of which was ably set forth in Governor Ritchie's address before the Virginia Bar Association last summer. Millions of dollars dispensed by municipalities and local charities have been swallowed by this monster, unemployment, and yet the menace of its presence remains and grows.

Meanwhile, another winter has passed.

In the light of these facts, every proposal with any semblance of merit must be weighed to the end that some plan for meeting the situation may be found that is at once safe and sure. The country was in a similar plight during the World War when suggestions for combating the submarine were requested from every quarter.

Such a plan, in order to prove satisfactory, should meet certain well-defined tests.

In the first place, it must not be predicated upon charity, either private or governmental. Anyone who is familiar with the average American workingman now seeking a job knows that he abhors charitable relief. His inborn self-respect revolts at the idea that he and his family should be the objects of charity. It has long been pointed out that this is the worst possible way of helping an individual. Furthermore, if left to private sources alone, charity is wholly uncertain and naturally contracts when it needs most to be expanded. If this charity be made the burden of government, either by dole or some form of insurance, then it becomes not only the means of maintaining men in idleness, but also a method of buying the votes of the unworthy, thereby corrupting the moral stamina of workmen. No better example of the ultimate working of the dole system could be found than that related by the bishop of Oxford. The good bishop offered a passing unem-

<sup>1</sup> Strictly speaking, until the adoption of the recent budget, England's system was a combination of insurance and charitable dole, but since the government had been compelled to make large loans to meet payments due the insurance fund from laborers, the entire system became virtually a charitable dole.

ployed workman the usual compensation to shovel the snow from the sidewalk before his house. The unemployed Briton spurned the offer, stating that he could get more through his dole by remaining idle! Surely, if any American has been drawn from his course of right thinking by the siren of the dole, he must now be amply warned by the distress signals broadcast from England.

In the second place, the plan must be permanent. The president has pointed out that our country has passed through fifteen somewhat similar periods of depression. This means that on the average once each ten years American workmen in large numbers find themselves in distress, deprived of the opportunity to work. Whether these periods will become more acute in future decades is a matter of speculation, but the indications are that such will be the case as life becomes more complicated and the urban centers more congested. In any event it is inconceivable that an intelligent people should not plan effectively against such evil days. Now, while we are fully conscious of the suffering that unemployment brings to a family circle, to a community, and to the nation, is the time to settle this problem. It must be settled not merely for the present emergency but for the future as well. The means to be used must become a permanent institution in our national life, available at all times.

In the third place, the successful plan must be elastic. It must be capable of rapid expansion in times of need, and yet susceptible of quick contraction when the day of stress is past. In this land of initiative and progress, unemployment on a large scale, of course, cannot be continuous. That man is blind who thinks America has even approached the limits of her development. The problem is to furnish to every man and woman the opportunity of earning food, clothing, and shelter during those periods when the pulse of industry beats slowly as it prepares for another big spurt, and at the same time to make it possible for these same men and women to get back into the stream of industrial progress when it begins to move.

Can such a plan be devised? It can, and American genius will surely hit upon it. What is here written is set forth merely to put in concrete form suggestions as to one plan which may prove worthy of consideration.

Consider the following facts, the parallel of which may likely be found in many parts of the country. During the past summer, in a southern city, a man stepped out into a roadway one night and, at the point of a double-barreled shotgun, compelled the driver of an interstate grocery truck to unload a lot of food. He made no effort to conceal his identity as he moved the food into his adjacent home. The driver rushed to police headquarters and three patrolmen were sent to arrest the bandit. Upon their arrival he made no effort to resist arrest or to deny the crime, but readily confessed. In explanation of his act he ushered the three policemen into a back room where lay his wife and two little children who were half starved and had been without food for days while he, the husband and father, had searched in vain for work. So affected and convinced were the three officers that they returned to headquarters and flatly refused to make the arrest.

It is not intended here to enter into a discussion of the moral and legal questions involved in the case just stated or to consider what you or I would have done under similar circumstances. A more pertinent thing to be considered is that beyond this man's home, outside the city and only a short drive by automobile, was a world practically unknown to him, or, if he ever knew it, long since forgotten. There he could have found acres of growing fruits, grains, and vegetables in such abundance that they were allowed to lie ungathered in the orchards, fields, and gardens. And further on there were acres, yes, thousands and millions of unemployed acres, capable of producing a like abundance of food.

One hears expressions of amazement over the mystery of wholesale suffering for want of food when nature has poured forth her bounty in marvelous fashion. In reality this is no mystery; it makes little difference to the unemployed workman



in the city what the current price of food may be. If he has no work and no money, food may as well sell for its weight in gold as for its weight in wheat. He cannot get it. His only lawful recourse is to return to the life of the pioneer and produce his food from the soil.

The problem, therefore, is to bring together *unemployed men* and *unemployed acres*.

Steadily, workmen have been leaving the farms and have flocked to the urban centers. There they have nothing to sell but the labor of their hands, and they become a veritable part of the great industrial machine. When that machine stops, the workman is helpless. The metal parts of that machine, being housed and oiled, will resist deterioration for a time at least, but this human part has to be fed three times a day, even when idle, and there are numerous mouths attached to it which must likewise be fed.

It would be simple enough if we could say to these idle human beings, "Go back to the land and produce your food," but practically such advice is as absurd as if they were told to take jobs as pilots of airplanes. This "back to the land" slogan was much in vogue during the early part of 1930. Many of us witnessed the sad results. The average modern city worker is separated from the soil by at least a generation or two. He knows nothing of the science of agriculture. Lacking capital, experience, and equipment, those who heeded the advice given them in 1930, met dismal failure on their march back to the land. It was a bitter experience that they will be loth to repeat.

The fact remains, however, that these unemployed acres do hold the key to the situation. Add to them in the proper way, the tremendous man-power that is now going to waste in the centers of unemployment, and these acres can and will produce food, clothing, and shelter in abundance for all in need thereof.

These unemployed men and their families have to be shown the way back to the land. To accomplish this, they must be under careful, experienced, and organized leadership. To

make this possible it should be feasible to establish in this country an Agricultural Army, organized on a semi-military basis in which any citizen may enlist whenever he or she is unable to find employment. Such enlistment should be for a period long enough to insure continuity of the work to be undertaken, but insofar as possible withdrawals should be permitted and encouraged whenever the worker finds gainful employment elsewhere.

This army should be officered by men and women having practical knowledge of the science of agriculture and of rural economics, and skilled in leadership. It should be mobilized on lands provided by and in the different states, under Federal authority and direction. The purpose should be to produce on and from such lands all the food, clothing, shelter, and other supplies needed to support and make life comfortable for the members of this army. A man's wife and children should be enlisted with him, so that the entire family may be kept together in a wholesome environment. There will be work for both men and women, while the education of the children can proceed as in any other rural section. While the chief activity of the army would be agriculture, there should, of course, be scores of other lines of work carried on in order to meet all the many needs; it follows that employment would thus be furnished in most of the branches of industry.

It is just as possible to build and live in log houses to-day as it was in the days of our forefathers; if logs are too valuable, more modest forms of habitation can be erected by these men. It is just as possible and honorable to wear homespun clothing to-day as it was in time gone by. It is just as possible now to win a comfortable, happy living from the soil as it was a hundred years ago; it should be far easier, in view of the enormous amount of money and effort that has been expended on our schools of research in agriculture.

It is not contemplated that this Agricultural Army shall place its products for sale on the open market in competition with those produced by private farmers, nor that its labor

shall be offered in competition with that of workers employed in private industries. The Agricultural Army will be occupied in producing its own supplies; most surplus products will be carried over for emergencies while a portion of such surplus might be exchanged for commodities which cannot be produced.

With units of this army located in different sections of the country, it would be possible to grow all crops and to produce supplies in sufficient quantities to meet the needs of the entire group.

At the outset the leadership of this army, its mechanical equipment and other supplies, would have to be furnished at public expense. Every possible device, however, should be developed and used to enable the army to supply its every need and to produce its own leaders.

It will cost something. But, consider the millions in money now being expended in futile fashion, while man-power is going to waste. Merely feeding unemployed men gets us nowhere toward a rational solution of this problem. Any plan that contemplates providing for the unemployed while keeping them idle, necessarily means the loss of the man-power involved, to say nothing of other evil consequences. By enabling these men and women to produce their own necessities, the value of their labor is conserved and saved for the community. There is no accurate means of forecasting the ultimate cost of such an army. But this fact is certain that the labor of these unemployed men and women, when properly directed, is worth a tremendous sum. We have now come to realize that unemployed men and women must be cared for. Obviously, a system that makes use of their own labor thereby cuts the cost to the extent of the value of that labor. The proposed plan is therefore an economical one. In every state we already have agricultural schools and farm demonstration agencies financed by state and Federal funds. It should not require any great extension of these to enable them to function

through the Agricultural Army. In short, that army should become the great farm demonstration unit of the nation.

It is submitted that the proposed plan substantially meets the three tests already stated.

No one enlisted in this army need deem himself the object of charity. He would simply be given the opportunity of earning a living. It is true that any deficit resulting from its operations would be met from the public treasury, but that is true in the case of numerous other governmental services which are by no means charitable. In this connection it should be noted that the dignity and morale of this army could be maintained on a high plane, as much so as in the case of our public schools. No stigma should attach to enlistments therein. When a workman and his family entered this force, it should mean a happy and healthful excursion into the country where the entire family might labor amid wholesome surroundings while being assured of all the real necessities of life. Movies and autos would be left behind for city dwellers. The work and discipline could be made sufficiently rigorous to deter enlistments by those who can obtain profitable private employment.

Again, this army could and should be made a permanent institution. Its organization once set up could be maintained and gradually perfected. The great mass of city workers would then not be laboring under a feeling of uncertainty. Always there would be open and available this assured means of earning food, clothing, and shelter for themselves and their families. Many men and women in this country have never known until recently this curse of uncertainty, but it has been very real to a multitude of workmen who have not known what the morrow held in store for them and their jobs. It is a fair assumption, from symptoms that have appeared, that fluctuations in the employment of labor may become more marked hereafter. It is intolerable that an earnest, self-respecting workman should live and labor under the pall of such uncertainty. The existence of the Agricultural Army will be his

permanent guarantee of the right to work. Conversely, the existence of this army will sift the worthy from the unworthy. It will be a complete answer to the charge that our society makes no provision for the man who wants work and cannot get it. One great difficulty to-day is to know who is worthy of help. With the Agricultural Army in operation, the man who will not work is not entitled to eat.

This organization would be elastic. Fields do not have to be tilled each year. As enlistments increased, the cultivated area could be enlarged. There is probably no industry so readily susceptible of expansion and contraction as is agriculture. Surplus food supplies could be carried over in granaries and in the form of canned products, to meet emergencies. No doubt, losses will occur and shortages will be encountered, but these can be reduced to a minimum as experience shows the way. Those that cannot be eliminated will be a necessary part of the cost of operations.

If it be said that the plan will remove from the community a large number of potential customers to the detriment of other industries, the answer is that starving men and women are not customers. They are an unhealthy menace to every industry and to every community. If it be said that there is no guarantee that those who enlist will work, it should be noted that this organization will be under at least semi-military discipline, and in the regular army there are means of compelling a recruit to perform his duty.

Perhaps the most general criticism will be that the plan savors of socialism. In answering such a charge a brief consideration of socialism is warranted. Socialism is, of course, a relative term. We are all socialists to a degree by virtue of our membership in an organized society. In the terms of a layman, it may be said that socialism means the placing of the burdens of the individual upon society as a whole. Thus, in the matters of police protection and the administration of justice, theoretically at least, the duty and burden thereof have been taken from the shoulders of the individual and have been

placed upon society as a whole by our making them established functions of government from early times. Gradually, this process has been carried further. Less than a century ago, in many parts of this country, there was bitter opposition to public schools upon the ground that they were a socialistic institution. But we saw the need, and the burden of education was lifted from the parent and placed upon the community. Education has now become one of the accepted functions of government.

Whenever the real need has appeared, our people have not been deterred by the cry of "socialism" from taking over the burdens which individuals are unable or unwilling to bear. Unfortunately, in some instances the pressure of politics has led to the shouldering on to government of burdens of certain favored classes. What could be more socialistic than taxing the consumers of wheat in this country and using their money through the agencies of the Federal government to buy up wheat for the avowed purpose of enhancing the cost of that commodity to such consumers? It was said that this process would benefit the farmer. Even if it had worked, the consumers of wheat in the cities might well insist that they were entitled to purchase wheat at the lowest competitive price. And well might the urban wheat consumer question such action when he knows that under the law a combination effected by him to raise the price of his product to the farmer would be illegal and in some instances criminal.

The worst form of socialism is that which operates for a favored class only. When government shoulders the burdens of individuals, it should be for the relief of all alike and not merely for a special group whose votes may determine an election.

History of government in this country and in England shows that from early times it has been regarded as a proper function and duty of organized society to care for its helpless members. For this reason it is held to be constitutional to tax citizens for the support and maintenance of paupers and public

charities. This is the very basis upon which unemployment relief is now proceeding in many states and cities. If it be not pernicious "socialism" and "communism" to dispense public funds in charitable relief through outright gifts, bread-lines and the like, by what process of reasoning can the judgment of socialistic condemnation be pronounced against a scheme of expending public money that enables destitute men and women to produce their own living? It is a strange result, indeed, if the addition of his work by the recipient of public aid, transforms into "socialism" that which was not so considered without his labor.

When unemployment can and does reach the figures attained in recent years, it becomes a matter of national concern. The almost unanimous opinion is that "something will have to be done about it." Private means are inadequate. Charity, whether from private or governmental sources, is inadvisable. Extensive public works lead to extravagance and add to the burden of tax payers. Provisions and guarantees against unemployment made by private industrial organizations are uncertain and mean little when it appears that only a small group is in position to make such provisions.

It would seem to be the part of wisdom for government to afford to these men and women the opportunity to earn their living from the soil. Experience in the Agricultural Army might well be the means of introducing many an American workman to the simple, wholesome, rural life of his ancestors. Having thus been introduced, he may later feel induced, upon leaving the army, to prefer the open country to the squalor of city life. The Agricultural Army might well serve to lead unhappy men and women back to the paths of peace.



## KESWICK REVISITED

LODWICK C. HARTLEY

**K**ESWICK is neither old nor new. It has nothing of the mustiness of a medieval town and little of the bustle of a modern one. In short, it is just the kind of place to which a Rip Van Winkle might return without being greatly amazed. Change seems to be scarcely an important order of its existence. It has conformed to the more superficial changes of the years without allowing the life that flows through its narrow little streets to quicken its leisurely motion. In the town itself one may still find the tranquillity and calm that Wordsworth and Southey were so fond of ascribing to the surrounding fields and hills. The few foreign elements that have entered its quiet life are plainly marked with the stigma of their indiscretion. A radio shop cowers in a narrow side street, and a cinema in St. John's Street strives hard to be unobtrusive.

It is hardly necessary to contrive to reach Keswick on a rainy afternoon. Such will very likely be one's pleasant fate if the arrival is timed for a day in early summer. A few days in other parts of England will doubtless have developed the popular habit of deprecating the English brand of weather. But in Keswick it is easy to forget many of the objectionable aspects of an English rain. Clouds that hang in fleecy lightness above green valleys, air of buoyant freshness, slate roofs that shine like glass—these are some of the miracles of a benevolent rain that patters on the pavement, drips from the eaves, and flows in miniature torrents in the gutters.

One's hotel may be a quaint and unpretentious one in St. John's Street. On the edge of town a large hotel stands aloof, conscious that it is not a part of the real Keswick. Several smaller ones apologize for modern elegance and comfort by attempting to make their modernity as little glaring as possible. Mrs. Blaney's Ullswater Hotel scarcely needs such an apology.

A maid, whose features remind one of a comic mask but whose radiant kindness soon wins friends, will answer the bell and lead her guests up three flights of stairs to a second-storey eyrie. The convenience of running water is unheard of, and the only means of illumination are two candles in holders of delft blue. But the beds are fluffy and snowy white, the curtains are fresh and crisp, and from the windows one may see an expanse of glossy slate roof punctuated with chimneys and patches of blue-green stone stretching away in the general direction of cloud-draped Skiddaw. In fact, it is just the sort of room in which one would want to relax, foot-sore and gloriously weary from a tramp to Buttermere and Borrowdale or from a day of aimless wandering over the hills—a paragon of simple comfort and profound peace.

There is hardly time to unpack and freshen up a bit before the sound of a cheerful gong wells up from the very depths of the house. Tea! If one knows Mrs. Blaney or if one has detected upon one's arrival a pungent and delightfully tantalizing aroma about the place, one will have visions of an infinite variety of pastries and tarts, not to mention incomparable toasted scones and slabs of bread spread with rum butter, a Cumberland specialty. There is no danger of disappointment. Mrs. Blaney owns a bakery shop adjoining her hotel and she is unstinting with her wares. So one wipes the soap from one's eyes, straightens one's tie, and hurries, albeit uncertainly, down the narrow, steep steps to find Katie—her of the comic face and sterling heart—bringing in steaming pots of tea and hot water and trays of the most divine delicacies that culinary skill can devise. It is a sight to cheer the soul of the most fastidious gourmet. One munches pastries and sips tea, unmindful of the fact that outside the rain has ceased and sunbeams are sifting through the clouds, and oblivious of the dinner of Mrs. Blaney's own version of steak and chips yet in the offing.

The scene is a pleasant one—so pleasant, indeed, that one is sorely tempted to forget that one did not come to Cumber-

land for reasons purely Epicurean. Outside the sky is now blue, the sun is shining brightly, and only a fringe of clouds remains on the horizon. Skiddaw is emerging from a rapidly thinning veil of mist. It is time to resign the devastated tea table to the mercy of Katie. The thought of renewing acquaintance with Derwentwater Lake is sufficient to draw one out into the open again. One strolls down a winding street, past the town, along an unbelievably green meadow in which cows are grazing ever so much more gracefully than they do in Constable landscapes, past tea gardens and boat houses, and along a wooded lake-side walk until one reaches Friar's Crag and the Ruskin monument. There is Derwentwater sparkling affably and beautifully in the afternoon sun—and the islands and Cat Bells and the hills stretching away to Scafell and beyond.

Mr. Somerset Maugham confessed in a recent novel his inability to dwell long in the contemplation of beauty. If the truth were known, such is perhaps a universal experience. The supreme moments of exaltation in the presence of beauty are likely to be fleeting moments, for time undoubtedly has a way of wearing off the keenest edges of delight. The beauty of Derwentwater, however, must be cited as an exception. It has the happy faculty of wearing well and even of growing more satisfying on lengthy contemplation.

The spot from which the lake may best be seen is a certain rock just below Friar's Crag. It may be reached with ease by one who is reasonably sure of footing, and, as rocks go, it provides a seat of unquestioned excellence. There the water laps softly and the breeze is fresh and cool. In the brilliant afternoon sun Derwentwater, rippled by the wind, looks like a sheet of corrugated silver, surrounded by high green hills and dotted here and there with green islands and small boats. The effect is nothing short of magical. The beauty and tranquillity of the scene lull to dreams. Rapt, one may sit until the silver of the lake has become saffron, rose, and then dark blue; until the sun has slipped down behind Eel Crag and

little lights have begun to twinkle at the foot of Cat Bells and in the direction of Manesty; until there has developed the consciousness that Derwentwater is mirroring a shimmering moon.

A day on the lake is ever a delightful adventure. Mrs. Blaney will pack a lunch, a substantial and toothsome affair consisting of stacks of ham sandwiches, cheese in tin-foil, a few slices of fruit cake, and a bag of plums. An early start on a clear day will give opportunity for sculling under the most favorable auspices. The trim boat is pushed off. With a few strokes it glides past Derwent Island with its fine manor, its velvet lawn, and its clumps of gorgeous rhododendron. The sculler's muscles are yet fresh and the sun is kind. Sculling becomes a more vigorous business. Swiftly the boat glides into the middle of the lake, past Lord's Island with its memories of the ill-starred earls of Derwentwater and past St. Herbert's Island, the former solitary retreat of a monk whose piety and powers of mental telepathy (upon the authority of Wordsworth) were both exemplary. The boat is headed in the direction of Lodore, but it has no specific destination. One may scull until his muscles tire. Then he may rest his oars and float, languidly rocked by the waves. There is also the possibility of great fun in lying in the bottom of the boat and using an umbrella for a make-shift sail. This lazy pastime may go on indefinitely. On the other hand, it may soon be cut short and one may be forced into activity by a stiff breeze that throws clouds into the face of the sun and goads an otherwise peaceful lake to a momentary fit of temper. The surrounding hills will grow dark and the waves will be capped with foam. One will row feverishly toward shore. Who has not thrilled to Schiller's description of a lake storm in *Wilhelm Tell*? The chance of experiencing a lake storm in miniature is a thing not to be scoffed at. Its tingle of adventure will grow more vibrant upon each recall.

Coming back toward Keswick, one may put into a pleasant little cove on St. Herbert's Island. A place sufficiently shel-

tered may be found where one may strip and plunge for a few breath-taking seconds into icy water. The procedure will whet needlessly an already ravenous appetite. The lunch will be consumed greedily and a quiet spot may be found for reading the volume of Wordsworth that has been purchased at a Keswick bookshop and packed with the umbrella, the rain-coat, and the lunch in the stern of the boat. The volume of Wordsworth is quite indispensable, for nowhere on earth—not even at Grasmere or Rydal—does the poet seem more real than he does on this peaceful island. The experience is one that should not be missed. But things of the spirit must be put away in time to row back to the village for tea.

In its sports Keswick staunchly maintains its allegiance to the past. Although tennis and cricket flourish, it is easy to see that the really important sport of the town is bowling. At six o'clock every summer afternoon the greens in the public park are filled, and scores of matches are on in dead earnestness. When one observes the seriousness of the players, one no longer doubts the legendary absorption of Sir Francis Drake in a game on one momentous occasion. The grass of the greens is a miracle of smoothness, the result of centuries of expert care. The skill with which the shiny black balls are rolled is awe-inspiring, and the silence and tranquillity of the game are remarkable. Both players and spectators seem too much absorbed to raise their voices. Play may continue until nine o'clock or later, for in summer the Keswick twilight is a lingering thing and night comes reluctantly.

Days in Keswick go on, each unfolding new wonders all its own. There may be no end of delight in uncharted rambles, satisfying little forays into nowhere. Aside from these, one may become ambitious and ascend Skiddaw for a magnificent panorama and perhaps a glimpse of Solway Firth and the Irish Sea. There may be a climb to the fascinating Druid Circle, shut in by mountains and almost unworldly save for the cows that graze among its stones. Again, one may take a road bordered with foxglove to see the thin falls of Lodore,

a constant and living reminder of Southey's eloquent exaggeration. Then, there may be a tramp across a marsh, a veritable battle with the ooze, to Manesty Park. If the gods are kind, there may even be tea at Brackenburn, Mr. Hugh Walpole's delightful place, and a chat with its master, who embodies the best traditions of English hospitality. The homeward journey will lead through quaint Portinscale. Further excursions may be made to Bassenthwaite, Thirlmere, Buttermere, Crummock Water, and Ullswater; or one may venture to Penrith and Hawkshead and Cockermouth. Grasmere, Ambleside, and Windermere are gateways to treasure houses all their own.

Many literary landmarks do not require a second visit. It is true that a Dove Cottage or an Ann Hathaway's cottage may be inexhaustible in its charm, but famous houses in particular have a way of becoming mere dead shells of the past. The literary landmarks of Keswick, however, are likely to cry out against neglect. It is difficult, for instance, to avoid paying homage a second time to a little house made sacred by the fact that it was once occupied for a short time by a slender blue-eyed boy who had not long been sent down from Oxford for publishing a scandalous pamphlet on atheism and who had just married one Harriet Westbrook. And one might do worse than to stroll once again to large but otherwise unpretentious Greta Hall, honored for its having housed both Southey and Coleridge. The walk could be continued across little Greta River to the Crosthwaite Church, a stern, angular building with the grave of Southey in its yard and a recumbent statue of the poet in one of its aisles.

Other literary rambles that the town and countryside will provide may be a source of great pleasure and stimulation. People have been known to be inspired by the place to seek out and photograph as many as possible of the spots mentioned in the poems of Wordsworth and Southey. No brook or stile has been too mean for their inquiring eye and their recording camera. But when one has stayed in Keswick for a time, one

may become conscious of a heresy. There may come the sudden realization that one's love for the place has nothing whatever to do with the past, that it is a thing apart from any connection with personalities. One may shudder at the enormity of one's sin, but there is the inescapable feeling that the Keswick to which a return is inevitable is not Wordsworth's Keswick, or Southey's Keswick, or Coleridge's Keswick, but one's own.



## CHANCE IN THE HISTORY OF MONEY AND BANKING

CLYDE OLIN FISHER

**D**URING the summer of 1929 the Federal Reserve Banking system came in for scathing criticism on the part of Mr. Durant and others who objected to the pressure that the banking system had brought to bear on the security exchanges. These critics contended that the banking authorities had no warrant for the discrimination against loans made in the stock market and that any such move was without legislative sanction as well as contrary to the general welfare. On the other side were to be found staunch defenders of the Federal Reserve who claimed that the restrictive policy had been dictated by the necessity of diverting funds from the speculative markets to the accommodation of commerce and industry. This policy, it was contended, was an obligation implied in the philosophy of the new banking system. Failure to follow the course that had been adopted would, it was said, constitute a flagrant disregard of the entire spirit of the legislation of 1913.

It has not been so many months since the banking system was made the basis for another vigorous argument. Contrary to the expressed wish of the directors of the reserve bank of Chicago, the Reserve Board took the initiative in compelling a reduction of the rediscount rate for the Chicago bank. The law provides that rates must be established subject to the approval of the Reserve Board. No specific statement is made as to who can take the initiative in adopting a new rate, although it had been assumed generally that this was the power of the individual reserve bank and that the Board could only approve or veto any change requested by a reserve bank. The issue seems to have been settled for the time, at least, by a change in the personnel of the Board and by its failure to repeat the action taken in the Chicago case. What developments will come in the future and what the re-

action of Congress will be, whether a curtailing of the central banking control or a further strengthening thereof, cannot be predicted.

Both the situations referred to above do show one thing: in the shaping of any economic institution a great deal of room is left for the development of conditions and policies not foreseen at the time of the enactment of the enabling legislation.

The Federal Reserve Banking System was adopted in the United States after careful investigation extending over a period of years. It was, essentially, a measure entered upon deliberately and for the specific purpose of establishing a sound and adequate banking system. So recent in our experience is this new banking plan that we are prone to lose sight of the fact that even the method of adoption in this case was an unusual rather than the ordinary procedure. More often than otherwise our monetary and banking development has been of the casual variety, and legislators have erected structures of a sort not visualized by the economic architects who designed the measures. And, as already indicated, even in the new banking plan for the United States many developments that have come subsequently were not envisaged by those who accepted the system. In other words, monetary and banking evolution have had a large element of the fortuitous in them.

It is not suggested that chance plays a unique rôle in monetary evolution. Perhaps a comprehensive study would show that this is characteristic of all economic life. Since the beginning of organized economic activity, man has been in the habit of erecting structures not fully visualized at the time of laying the foundation stones. Mere "happen-so" appears to have played at least an equal part with deliberate design and purposeful activity in the formulation of money and banking systems.

It is the purpose of the writer to show by reference to a number of instances the importance of the accidental, inci-

dental, and unforeseen forces in the field of monetary development. No claim is made as to any comprehensive list of such illustrations. It is felt, however, that the cases cited form an adequate basis for the conclusion that fortuitous forces have had an important place in this field of economic activity. While the experience of continental countries is parallel to that of the English-speaking world, for the sake of convenience and brevity this paper will be limited to developments in Great Britain and the United States.

It is well known that England has been for the past century the most valiant proponent of the gold standard. But many people lose sight of the fact that the gold standard for England was, in the first instance, an accident rather than a matter of deliberate choice. In 1717 England had bimetalism with a ratio of 15.21 to 1. At that time the market ratio was such as to make gold the cheaper money. Gresham's law operated and England had a *de facto*, though not a legal, gold standard. In 1797 specie payments in England were suspended. Upon her resumption of specie payments there was controversy as to whether money should be on a monometallic or a bimetallic basis. Not until 1816 did England's law specify gold coin as the sole standard of value and legal tender. England, therefore, stumbled into the gold standard. Since that time, until recently, she has held to it as a matter of commercial religion, believing, rightly or wrongly, that the continuance of her international prestige depended upon the retention of gold as her standard of value. The law of 1816 simply gave legal sanction to a condition that had existed for years. But for the keen opposition of England, based as it was on this accidental sequence of events, the commercial world might have adopted international bimetalism through some one of the conferences held on monetary matters.

Even in the United States the adoption of the gold standard was not so much a matter of design as a result of a combination of unforeseen circumstances. The first monetary legislation of the new nation provided for bimetalism. For some

time prior to 1873, the mint ratio having been changed by Congress, silver was undervalued at the mint and gold was the only metal really coined freely. In the "Crime of '73" Congress did nothing more than sanction the then existing coinage. By recodification of the monetary laws no provision was made for silver coinage because at the time it was not profitable to coin silver and none was presented at the mint. Only after the cheapening of silver as a result of the discovery of new mines and the adoption of the gold standard in foreign countries did the American people discover that there had been a "crime" in 1873. The United States, then, stumbled into the adoption of the gold standard which, after the silver compromise legislation of 1878 and 1890, was definitely adopted as such in 1900. Neither in England nor in the United States, therefore, was gold monometallism selected as a matter of deliberate choice and on the basis of its presumed superiority.

The establishment of the Bank of England in 1694 came about, not for the purpose of giving to England a sound banking system, but rather as a means of enabling the government to finance a war with France. The entire capital stock of the bank was loaned to the government at interest. In return for this loan the bank was authorized to issue notes up to an amount equal to the loan—hence the incidental origin of the type of currency which for two centuries has taken so large a place in English business life. War finance left as an incidental legacy to the English people the Bank of England note.

This experience has an almost exact analogue in American annals. The national banking law of 1863 was enacted primarily as a war finance measure. It was desired to make a market for United States government bonds. Hence the stipulation that commercial banks complying with the conditions enumerated, among them the purchase of bonds, might issue bank notes up to a certain maximum. Later, to make national bank note issues more attractive, a federal tax of ten

per cent was imposed upon the issues of state banks. But the national bank note, as well as the Federal Reserve Bank note designed to take its place and which still circulates in the United States, was a legacy of an incidental sort from the fiscal expedients of the Civil War. And this banking legislation, dictated by the exigencies of war finance, continued as our guiding policy until the adoption of a new plan in 1913.

Not alone in its origin, but in its subsequent development, did the Bank of England show the effects of fortuitous forces. The unsatisfactory state of note issue in England caused Parliament to vest the Bank of England with a more or less complete monopoly of issue. This led to the unforeseen result of giving this bank a dominant position over other banks. Since the bank note was the chief instrument of bank credit, other banks became dependent upon the Bank of England for currency. This, further, meant that the Bank of England had to assume a responsibility for a sound credit system—hence the assumption by a private institution of the burden of protecting the money reserve in England, a responsibility which the bank has attempted to fulfill by the manipulation of the discount rates and the various other methods familiar to students of banking. This unforeseen dependence of other banks upon the Bank of England was strengthened by the use of the bank as the fiscal agent of the government. Out of this grew the necessity of keeping bank balances with the Bank of England as a means of clearing inter-bank accounts.

In 1844, by the passage of *Peele's Act*, England adopted the "currency" rather than the "asset" principle of banking. By this measure the volume of notes was definitely limited and no provision was made for elasticity and flexibility. But the limitations of the law in this respect were in large measure circumvented by the development of deposit banking. The use of deposit credits and the extensive use of checks did a great deal to overcome the otherwise hampering tendencies of the law of 1844. No one could have foreseen at the time the tremendous increase in deposit banking and the gradually

lessened importance of note issues. The failure to realize this possibility explains why England was able to use to good ends a banking law which, if operated as was planned, might have caused serious hardship. Just as the law was neutralized in England so its effect was modified in Scotland in a slightly different manner. While Scotch banks were not permitted to increase their note issues, there was no limitation upon the volume of deposit credit they could grant. And they even conceived the use of unissued notes as a cash reserve against deposit liabilities. Deposit credits, through the use of the so-called "cash credits" system, secured in part by a cash reserve of unissued bank notes, gave to Scotland a flexible credit system which offset the limitations of a note issue rigidly limited as to quantity.

It is well known that the colonial bills of credit in America came into existence in connection with the financing of the War of Independence. These notes suffered a fate similar to that of the French *assignats* and *mandats* of a somewhat later era. The significant point here lies in the fact that this currency did not arise from any deliberate purpose to establish a currency system, but rather as an incidental factor in war finance. The greenback issue in the United States in the Civil War period is another instance of the same sort, the only difference being in the happier fate of the greenback as a result of a combination of favorable circumstances and the success of the Union cause. But greenbacks were not issued primarily to secure an adequate currency system. The necessities of war finance have been the strongest single factor influencing currency development both in the United States and in other countries. Reference has already been made to the national bank note as a legacy of the Civil War in the United States. In this latter case there was really an effort to lift oneself by one's financial bootstraps. The notes were valuable because they were secured by government bonds. The bonds were more valuable by reason of the fact that they could be used to support note issues. In any real emergency

the price of these bonds might well have fallen to such a point as to force the government to levy on the bank's general assets to recover the funds advanced in redeeming the notes. In reality, therefore, this was an approach to "asset" banking even though there was no deliberate intention on the part of the government to adopt such a system.

Not only did the Civil War produce the greenback and the national bank note, but it brought about an important change in the type of credit instrument used in the United States. Prior to that time the trade acceptance had gained wide usage in the United States. The fluctuating value of the currency with the issue of greenbacks made it hazardous to finance the sale of goods by the use of trade paper. There was too great danger that at the date of maturity of this paper the purchasing power of money would be so changed as to inflict loss upon the seller. Hence the desirability of selling with a substantial discount for cash, the purchaser securing the cash by loans from his own bank. While this is perhaps not the only factor that was responsible for the discontinuance of the trade acceptance in the United States, it was one of the important influences. But for this fortuitous circumstance it is likely that the Federal Reserve System would have been spared the necessity in recent years of taking measures to popularize the use of trade acceptances.

The silver movement in the United States reveals many interesting aspects of monetary evolution. Both the Bland Act of 1878 and the Sherman Act of 1890 were enacted in part to create a market for silver and also, it is true, to bring about a cheaper currency. But the repeal of the latter act in Cleveland's administration, so as to stop the operation of the "endless chain," was effective in large measure because of chance. At that time harvests in the United States were bounteous and those of Europe were poor. This meant a large export surplus from the United States and the importation of a sufficient amount of gold to restore confidence and bring a halt in the operation of the endless chain—a fortuitous



circumstance. In somewhat the same fashion, following the greenback issues, the United States was able to accumulate the gold needed to bring about the resumption of specie payments in 1879. The fates were good to the United States.

The operation of chance is shown again in the development of one of the responsibilities formerly assumed by the secretary of the United States treasury. After the passing of the Second Bank of the United States came an era known as "wild-cat banking." It was not safe to entrust government funds to the banks. Hence, in 1846, the Independent Treasury was established as a strong box to hold government money. But the lack of coincidence between government receipts and disbursements gave rise to other problems. So serious was the situation that the secretary of the treasury had to resort to the device of placing government deposits at those points at which funds were needed to prevent an emergency. Contrary to any expectation at the time of the creation of the office, the secretary of the treasury became necessarily a kind of financial dictator and arbiter of currency matters.

The round-about routing of checks for collection under the national banking system was a by-product of other practices and was not contemplated at the time of establishing the banking system. The practice of charging "exchange" on the payment of checks caused the banks to establish agencies in financial centers so as to collect claims without the deduction of the exchange charge. In many cases this meant the mailing of checks over a wide territory, checks sometimes going to one city several times before encashment. Not only did this mean delay in collection but it enlarged the "float" and caused the double-counting of the same funds. But for this chance development it would not have been necessary in recent years for the Federal Reserve Banks to push their campaign for the par clearance of checks.

Just one illustration from Canada will show that there, also, chance and unforeseen forces have played an important rôle in banking evolution. Canadian banks were limited by

law to the issue of notes not in excess of the capital stock of the banks (there has been some later provision for seasonal issues, but the principle remains the same as formerly). The conditions in Canada have been such as to make note issues, rather than deposit credits, the chief avenue for the granting of bank loans. With the increasing volume of business in Canada, and hence the need for more currency, it has been necessary for the banks to increase their capital stock. This increase in capital stock has strengthened the banks, but it was an unforeseen by-product of the placing of the limit on note issues.

One of the best illustrations of sound banking without legal authorization in the United States is found in "George Smith's money" in Wisconsin during the first half of the last century.<sup>1</sup> Smith induced the legislature of the state to grant a charter for doing a marine, fire, and life insurance business. "Banking privileges," that is, the issue of notes, were expressly prohibited. But Smith was authorized to receive deposits and to lend money on security. He began to issue certificates of deposit similar to bank notes. One recalls the issues of the Bank of Amsterdam of like kind. These certificates came to be known as "George Smith's money." They circulated and were accepted by Smith in exchange for New York drafts needed by the merchants. In the fall New York drafts were presented to Smith in exchange for some of his "money." White describes this banking system as "sound, in fact, although unsound in principle." At any rate, this was a banking development by chance and did not result from any deliberate design on the part of the government to establish a banking system in Wisconsin.

It has already been suggested that the Federal Reserve Banking system in the United States was adopted as a deliberate measure designed to remedy the evils of the old system and to establish a sound and safe banking mechanism. Even in the evolution of this system, however, chance has played

<sup>1</sup> H. White, *Money and Banking* (3rd ed., New York, 1908), pp. 338-342.

a large part. In the first place, the outbreak of the war shortly after the system was started gave to it an importance which otherwise might have come only after years, if at all. Uncertainty as to the possibility of getting needed assistance caused banks in large numbers to join the system. Added to this fear was the motive of patriotism, which no doubt caused some accession to the ranks.

It is well known that the policy of the Federal Reserve Banks was until a few years ago dominated by the fiscal needs of the Federal Treasury in the financing of the war. This influence could not have been anticipated at the time of the enactment of the law in 1913. The banking system became, in reality, an agent of the government rather than a mechanism designed to finance commerce and industry, as originally contemplated.

Another factor that contributed to the strength of the Federal Reserve System was the "favorable balance" of trade during the war. This resulted in the tremendous increase of the gold holdings of the reserve banks and gave them a degree of strength and influence that might otherwise not have been theirs. This influence was further strengthened by the impounding of gold policy growing out of the call to patriotic motives by the government and the banks.

It is quite clear that the purpose of the Gold Settlement Fund was to bring about the clearance of claims as between the different reserve banks in the country. Subsequent events have revealed a new use for this fund, however. Through it the Federal Reserve Board has arranged for inter-bank loans. This has been facilitated by the removal of the necessity of making shipment of the actual gold. There is no evidence that this use of the fund was contemplated when the law was enacted.

Nor is there any evidence that the framers of the reserve law intended to make use of the banking system as a means of assisting foreign countries to restore the gold standard. The restoration of the gold standard by England and by other

European countries was facilitated by arrangements between the central banks of those countries and the Federal Reserve banks, whereby the latter agreed to purchase large quantities of foreign exchange and thus prevent the flow of Europe's gold to the United States. It is true the reserve banks found sanction for their act in the provision that they might buy and sell foreign exchange. It is not likely, however, that this type of purchase, or purchase for this purpose, was contemplated by Congress when the law was passed in 1913.

Much controversy has taken place as to the purpose of authorizing the open market operations of the reserve banks. It seems to be agreed, however, that among the purposes was a desire to give the banks a means of earning their expenses and the dividends to be paid stockholding banks in the event that rediscounts did not suffice for this purpose. In the early days the open market operations were undoubtedly influenced by a desire to earn money for the system. Experience showed, however, that the purchase of paper in the general market did not mean so much of a net addition to the earning assets of the banks as it did a change in the type of earning assets. It was found that the purchase of paper in the market put money into the reserves of the member banks and relieved them of the necessity of rediscounting. Likewise, the sale of paper in the market meant a depletion of the reserves of member banks and forced them to resort to the reserve bank for rediscounts. The loss of interest on the paper sold was compensated for by the interest earned on rediscounts for member banks. Likewise, when paper was purchased in the open market, the interest earned thereon was offset by the decrease of interest on rediscounts for member banks. Thus, gradually, the open market operations of the system have come to be used not so much for earning interest, but rather as a preparation for making the reserve bank rate effective for other banks.<sup>2</sup>

Experience also showed that open market operations of

<sup>2</sup> Burgess, *The Reserve Banks and the Money Market* (New York, 1927), ch. 12.

the twelve reserve banks, to be effective in controlling the money market, must be coördinated. Hence came into existence, without any earlier plan to that effect, the Open Market Committee through which the operations of all the reserve banks, both as to selling and as to buying paper, are unified and coördinated.

One final illustration of the chance developments in money and banking is the adoption of the "gold exchange standard" by so many European countries since the war. This standard has been adopted not through a preference for it as such, but rather as an exigency forced upon Europe through the loss of gold and the extension in the use of "fiat" credit.

Students of finance can easily add to the evidence given in this article. But enough data have been presented to cast doubt upon the validity of any theory designed to show that modern governments and peoples have followed deliberately and purposefully any given monetary and banking development. Pure accident and fortuitous circumstance have played a not unimportant rôle.

## PHILIPPINE-AMERICAN RELATIONS

VICENTE VILLAMIN

**B**Y VIRTUE of the Treaty of Paris of December 10, 1898, which ended the Spanish-American War, the Philippines were ceded by Spain to the United States.

The Supreme Court of the United States in the insular cases has decided that the Constitution is not in operation in the Philippines and that those islands are not an integral part of the United States but a possession of, appurtenant to but not incorporated in, the United States.

Congress is invested with supreme, absolute, sovereign, and plenary power over the Philippines. They can be given absolute independence or otherwise disposed of, organized as an incorporated territory, converted eventually into a state of the Union, or held permanently under the present or similar status.

Philippine independence can be effected either by a successful revolution by Filipinos against American sovereignty or by the voluntary relinquishment by America of her authority over the Philippines. The first method calls for the use of force, the second persuasion, consultation, and coöperation.

Another possible method is to emphasize and enhance the nuisance value of the Philippines to the United States, thus exhausting the patience of the American people and inducing them to give the whole Philippine matter up in disgust and disappointment.

The Treaty of Paris left to Congress the duty of determining the civil rights and political status of the inhabitants of the ceded territories. In the case of the Porto Ricans, Congress, by enacting a collective naturalization law which made them American citizens, expressed the intent of perpetuating its tenure in Porto Rico. A congressional act in the future granting sovereign independence to Porto Rico would result in the automatic expatriation of American citizens, and one contrary-

minded American citizen of Porto Rican extraction could successfully impugn the constitutional validity of such legislation.

Congress has defined the civil rights of the Filipinos by incorporating in the Philippine organic act the bill of rights, thereby clothing them with civil and individual liberty under the American flag. Yet it has not endowed the Filipinos with American citizenship. Thus Congress has created a transitional political status known as Filipino citizenship, which has no international standing. Since this can only mean that America does not intend to stay permanently in the Philippines, sooner or later a Philippine Republic will see the light of day.

The Philippines are governed under an act of Congress of August 29, 1916, generally known as the Jones Law. The administration of the islands is placed in the Bureau of Insular Affairs of the War Department, under the direction of an active army officer with the rank of general.

The Philippine government is a creation of Congress, deriving its powers from that body. The sovereignty does not reside in the Filipino people at present. The right of suffrage is a delegated right, in the same constitutional category as the right of appointment. Every official, whether American or Filipino, whether elected or appointed, who holds office under the Jones Law, is a federal official charged with the governance of the Philippines for and in the name of the United States government, the policy of which is to advance the welfare of the Filipino people.

To be specific, the Filipino political leaders, including the two Filipino resident commissioners in Congress, are federal officials. That they devote much time to the extra-governmental activities in connection with Philippine independence—which at times may seem to the average read-and-run reader as a defiance of the sovereign power—does not alter in the slightest their federal status under the federal act that has brought them into official existence. They occupy the dual capacity of representing the governing power, the United States, and the governed, the Filipino people.



An independence resolution by the Philippine legislature, although legitimate, is extra-jurisdictional. It falls under the general category of a resolution passed by a state legislature bearing on a pending treaty in the Senate of the United States. Its weight is measured, not by its official character, but by its sincerity, soundness, and reasonableness. The legislature is an integral part of the insular government with the duty of making that government a success for the benefit of the governed. Congress has not, through the creation of the Philippine legislature, surrendered any instrument with which an outside agency could destroy its authority.

Contrary to the general conception, the representative of the United States Government in the Philippines is not the governor-general, who may be a Filipino under the law, but the Philippine Government as the organic entity brought into being with delegated powers by Congress. Like the president with respect to the United States, the governor-general is the head of the Philippine Government; he is but a constituent part of the integral whole of government. This concept of unity and identity between the component parts of the government, if fully appreciated, should alter the political psychology animating the Philippine-American relations and make for better coöperation and more solidarity.

The Philippine legislature has a wider area of legislative powers and prerogatives than the state legislatures. The compensation of the Filipino legislator is about three times that of the highest paid state legislator in the United States. It must be added that the expense of getting elected in the islands averages much higher than in the states, perhaps even as high as the average outlay of fully a third of the membership of Congress itself.

As the Constitution of the United States and the federal statutes not specifically made applicable in their context are not in force in the islands, and as the Philippine government has a wide latitude of local powers, the Filipinos enjoy, in effect, more independence from the federal government than

do the states of the Union. In view of the fact that the status of absolute independence, especially of small countries whose geographical location renders their international security an acute problem, exists only in political metaphysics, the Philippines at present occupy an enviable position in practical world politics.

Since the bill of rights is in operation in the islands, the Filipinos have personal liberty. Like the states of the Union, the Philippines do not have international independence. The republics of Central America have international independence but their citizens do not have as much liberty and as great an opportunity for happiness and advancement as the Filipinos enjoy to-day under the Stars and Stripes. To have both liberty and independence is the ideal condition; but if to have both means hazarding and losing both, elemental prudence commands the safe course. To the irrepressible it is pertinent to advert that the tendency of the times is towards political inter-dependence and economic and cultural inter-penetration.

To-day nearly ninety-nine per cent of the personnel of the government are Filipinos. The legislature is one hundred per cent Filipino in membership. A Filipino can be appointed governor-general. To present graphically the extent of the filipinization of the government, an American in the islands who runs afoul of the law is arrested by Filipino police, prosecuted by Filipino agents, sentenced by a Filipino judge, and incarcerated by a Filipino warden.

The entire income of the self-supporting Philippine government, amounting to approximately \$40,000,000 annually, is spent in the islands for the Filipino people. Not a dollar goes to the United States in tax or tribute. There are no expenditures for national defense. America gives the protection *gratis et amore*. It may be stated here that the army and navy in the islands are an integral part of the defensive establishments of the United States. The distinguished army and navy personnel which had seen service in the Philippines conducted practically all the war operations of America during

the World War. Even the chief chaplain of the American expeditionary forces in Europe, Bishop Brent, was a "graduate" of the Philippine school of service and experience.

Apart from the right to conclude treaties—a right which has not helped the Chinese—and the philosophical freedom of using one's wisdom even to make a fool of one's self, the outstanding right the Philippines will acquire with absolute independence is that of going to war on their own volition. Under America the Philippines do not have that right, and thus enjoy relief from an infernal privilege. Because there is no right to declare war with the corollary of no obligation to prepare for war, the Philippine government can devote one-third of its total revenue to public education. These direct inter-relations are vitally significant because in the present stage of Philippine social development the horizontal diffusion of education must be the major concern of the government in view of the fact that the modern democracy which is being actualized in the islands must rest on an informed and interested public.

The basis of the economic progress and prosperity of the Philippines is the fact that the islands are within the tariff wall of the United States. There is free trade between the islands and the mainland, which means that Philippine products enter the United States and American products enter the Philippines duty-free. The privilege is reciprocal. The Philippine-American trade is approximately \$200,000,000 annually.

Overseas commerce is the elixir of Philippine economic life. The bulk of total production is exportable surplus. The major portion of this surplus goes to the United States, free of tariff duty. The only reason why more Philippine products do not go to other markets is that better prices are received in the United States. The Philippines should have the power to negotiate commercial treaties with foreign nations, subject to the approval of the United States, in order to give the Filipinos full opportunity to explore new markets outside the United States.

Philippine independence is now being broadcasted as an economic proposition, since it has become entangled with the question of farm relief. The American farmer has found that the free entry of Philippine sugar and coconut oil does not harmonize with his interests, and he therefore proposes the granting of immediate, absolute independence to the Philippines in order to place their products on a dutiable basis. In so doing, he disregards the effect of the move upon the Filipino people, upon the American investments in and commerce with the islands, and upon America's position and policy in the Pacific with its intimate relation to the international tranquillity of the Orient.

The cause of the economic fear by the American farmer against the Philippines is worth analysing before a major political operation which will amount to a merciless economic vivisection of the Filipino people is performed upon the Philippine body politic.

Approximately twelve per cent of the sugar consumed in the United States comes from the Philippines. Not a pound of this sugar enters, or can enter, the beet sugar territory on account of the prohibitive overland freight rates. If Philippine sugar is kept out by a tariff duty, it will be Cuban, not beet sugar, that will take its place, a fact that is not contradicted by the beet sugar producers. The yearly Cuban surplus is several times the amount of the annual imports from the Philippines. This surplus is the key to the entire sugar question in America. The explanation for the continuing surplus lies in the fact that it is the echo—a long and lugubrious echo it must be—of Cuba's loyal response to America's appeal for more and more sugar during the World War.

Concerning coconut oil, it is important to stress that the oil is dutiable while copra, from which the oil is pressed, is free. The bulk of coconut oil is utilized in the manufacture of white soaps; it is not substitutable by any domestic vegetable or animal product. Of the coconut oil utilized in the margarine industry one-half is Philippine, the rest coming from the

mills in the United States which extract it from duty-free copra imported from all points of the compass. It stands to reason that if Philippine coconut oil is shut off, all the domestic mills will have to do to meet the demand of the margarine industry is to double their output with duty-free copra at depreciated prices. Thus, instead of competing with Filipinos, as they claim, the American dairymen will be forced to compete with the coolies of Oceania, the Malabar Coast, and the Dutch East Indies.

It is clear that Philippine independence is not the remedy for which the dairy farmer is looking. Possible remedial measures have been suggested. One is to place copra on a dutiable basis compensatory with the coconut oil. Another is to denature the coconut oil to render it unfit for human consumption so it will go only to the non-edible industries. One of the effects of these remedies will be to push up the level of coconut oil prices, which in turn may be reflected in the price structure of the farmer's butterfats.

The alleged competition between coconut oil and cottonseed oil is a myth. Cottonseed oil goes almost entirely to the edible industries where coconut oil is not utilized at all since it is not suitable for use in cooking fats and oils. Coconut oil is not used as a drying oil. The soap industry asserts that cottonseed oil is not suitable for the manufacture of white soap with high lathering quality. Abandoning that industry, where it was once used in making brown soaps, cottonseed oil has preëmpted the edible field, where it commands much better financial returns. In descriptive vernacular, coconut oil has kicked cottonseed oil upstairs.

Manila hemp no more competes with American fibers than asparagus does with alfalfa. The Philippines have a natural monopoly on Manila hemp. It is indispensable in the manufacture of cordage, especially for marine use. The cordage industry must have it. In any case, it is on the free list. The tariff and independence question do not affect its position. A tariff on Manila hemp will help the Philippines, but it will

kill the cordage industry in America, diverting the entire Philippine hemp exports to Europe whence America must get its Manila hemp cordage.

Filipinos can enter the United States freely. They are immune from the operation of the immigration laws. The increasing number of Filipinos entering America as laborers constitutes a serious problem. It should be dealt with directly and whole-heartedly by the Philippine and American governments with the coöperation of the different interested organizations. This is an urgent matter. It must be divorced from politics. To use it for ulterior political motives is a loathsome and despicable crime against humanity.

There are a handful of young Filipinos, mostly students, who are employed as attendants on club cars of the Pullman trains. An American official, bent upon giving proof of his sublimated pro-independence sentiment, has affirmed that the ten million Negro citizens of the United States are all for immediate independence to keep the Filipino boys from the Pullman club cars. In all the long, wordy annals of Philippine-American relations this assertion stands out as the most puerile.

In considering the different interests involved in the Philippine question due weight should, of course, be given the American investments in and exports to the islands. The Philippine-American commerce amounts to \$200,000,000 yearly. The American investments approximate \$200,000,000, roughly half of which are government and quasi-public bonded obligations. American exports to the islands are possible only because Philippine products enter the United States duty free. With independence the bulk of Philippine imports to this country will be placed on a dutiable basis, with the result that they will be kept out altogether. The American manufacturer and exporter should be concerned over the fact that if the Philippines can not sell, they can not buy.

The future of Philippine independence is now before us, very present and very pressing. Buttressed by the same pub-

lic opinion that gives authority and impressiveness to the Monroe Doctrine which, by the way, is not a congressional enactment or an international multi-lateral treaty but merely a presidential declaration, America is committed to a course leading definitely to the ultimate, absolute independence of the Philippines. This commitment is parallel with the wish of the Filipinos to attain the same goal as the culmination of their political aspirations. How to reach that summit with credit to America and with benefit to the Philippines is the imperious challenge.

The solution must be premised on the present economic-political phase of the Philippine problem. Under the Jones Law the Philippines were granted self-government to such an extent that critics declared that the United States was placed in the dangerous position of responsibility without commensurate authority. At the same time the Jones Law included the Philippines more completely within the tariff wall of the United States, thereby implying the permanency of Philippine-American relations and giving impetus to the development of tariff-protected industries to the neglect of the unprotected ones. As a result, to-day the Philippine economic structure rests on the American tariff system. This is a political blunder, pure and simple, a blunder that, paradoxically, has become the foundation of Philippine progress, stability, and prosperity.

To restate succinctly, the Jones Law has proved to be a double-edged sword by unleashing two forces that run counter to each other—the political force tending, centrifugally, away from American control, and the economic force operating, centripetally, to form an economic union with America. This situation could have been obviated if an economic policy, parallel to the political objective of the Jones Law had been devised with the view of effecting economic independence from the United States. The present position of the Philippines within the tariff wall is ideal if they are to be with America permanently, a condition which is negated, however, by the political intent of the Jones Law.



Independence before the essential economic readjustment and re-integration is worked out would be a major economic disaster to the Filipinos. This is an arithmetical truism that stares Filipino and American statesmanship in the face. The loss by Philippine industries of the American tariff protection, which is their mainstay, will cause their dislocation and destruction, annihilating the country's economic structure and plunging the Filipino people into a régime of poverty and distress, chaos and unrest. It is the valor of demagogery that would disregard the severe economic effects of independence on the Filipino masses.

It is a happy and hopeful circumstance that only recently the Filipino nationalist leadership, facing the realities of the situation and confronted with the imminence of a too sudden independence urged by powerful agricultural groups in America, has substituted the formula of deferred for immediate independence to give time for the necessary work of economic readjustment, reintegration, and general preparation. The president of the Philippine Senate, in the evening of his life, is asserting a realistic, constructive leadership that is calculated to be destructive of the prejudices, the obsessions, and the impracticalities surrounding the Philippine independence question.

The *novissima verba* from the Filipino statesman who temporarily presides over the Philippine Senate upholds economics as the key to the independence problem. He urges work, economy, and the development of the latent unprotected products, mentioning China as a potential market for at least half a billion Philippine bananas. When formal liberty, which has been talked to a comatose condition, is laid aside for the lowly but luscious banana, the modern economic interpretation of liberty has gained impetus in the Philippines.

The need of the hour is, without proposing or opposing independence, to formulate and operate the plan that should have gone into effect coeval with the passage of the Jones Law fifteen years ago. The aim is to achieve the economic inde-

pendence of the Philippines from America gradually and not bluntly, and at the same time to build up a new support to the Philippine economic structure. With economic independence, political independence should eventuate as a matter of course. The other way round would be like moving from effect to cause, a procedure that invariably leads to failure.

This plan calls for a new orientation in the economic development of the Philippines along two major lines. First, the stoppage of the acreage expansion of the tariff-protected industries, especially sugar and coconut oil, a policy which can be executed with comparative ease because, among other potent reasons, the government controls over seventy per cent of the lands. Second, the development of the unprotected products which now lie dormant, such as rubber, coffee, quinine, camphor, bananas, spices, fibers, and other tropical raw materials which are not grown in continental United States, a policy postulated on normal conditions for its initiation.

While allaying more completely the fear of the American farmer against the potential expansion of certain Philippine products, the plan will build up the islands through diversification and development, give time for the inevitable readjustments in the present tariff-protected industries and for the cultivation of markets other than the United States, place Philippine-American commerce on a more complementary and more prosperous basis, and, above all, create in the Philippines a new self-sustaining economic structure that can stand by itself without the American tariff underpinnings.

Thus the Filipino people would be placed in a position eventually to separate from America as an independent nation not only painlessly but also with the essential sinews of sovereign nationhood. The Philippines can separate now only painfully and fatally. Separation under the condition of preparedness would assure permanent separation from, and insure against permanent annexation to, the United States. By the process of preparation it should take less time to reach the goal than by planless drifting, which can only lead to the eventual annex-

ation of the Philippines to the United States, a sequel that is not desired.

The Filipinos are not under the compulsion of oppression, repression, or exploitation by America to justify the suicidally heroic course of ignoring the urge of common sense and self-preservation. On the contrary, theirs is the mighty and magnanimous coöperation of a nation whose generosity and fairness to them have been demonstrated in a thousand ways, in developing the country and ameliorating the conditions of the people, preparatory to that brand of independence which possesses the attributes of reasonable security, stability, and durability.

The economic preparation of the Philippines, which all thinking persons admit is essential to forestall a disastrous economic debacle, must be before and not after independence. The element of time sequence here is all-important.

The idea of continuing the Philippine-American free-trade reciprocity for a designated period of years after the declaration of independence sounds plausible but is not legally feasible. An independent Philippines will fall automatically under the most-favored-nation clause of the treaties of the United States, prohibiting preferential tariff concessions. The way to make the clause inoperative is to permit the United States by treaty, to assume, if she will, a special political position in the Philippine Republic in partial derogation of Philippine sovereignty after the example of Cuba under the Platt Amendment, a move that would render Philippine independence a grandiose fiction. The provision of the Treaty of Paris, mentioned above, covering similar subject matter, has no analogy to the present case.

It admits of no rational doubt that, when America grants independence, the separation will be complete and comprehensive both politically and economically. The preparation on the part of the Philippines for independent nationhood must be predicated on this hypothesis. It is therefore incumbent upon Filipino leadership to encourage more cerebration and less

celebration concerning the independence question in order that Filipino brains and energies may be utilized for the benefit of the country and not be wasted in parades and similar delightful inanities.

The glorified practice among certain Filipinos of declaring a monopoly on patriotism for themselves, their political heirs, assigns, and associates when most of them hold only a Torrens title to intolerance and ignorantism is too silly to be continued. Their attitude of aggressive and eloquent self-pity when their own unreason, inconsistency, and futility are made manifest is too grotesque for perpetuation. A moratorium on personal politics is in order, an oratorical disarmament commends itself. The long-deluded Filipino people deserve a better fate and a better treatment.

There is a plausible ring in the suggestion that Congress, by an act, define the future political status of the islands by naming a definite date in the future for the declaration of Philippine independence. Unfortunately, under the American constitutional practice this can not be effected. No Congress can bind subsequent Congresses in legislative matters involving, as does the Philippine question, the exercise of political discretion, Congressional politics, and national or international policies.

The Jones Law is a classic instance of this principle. Although it did not name a fixed date, that law was described upon its passage by the very Filipino leader who worked for it in Congress as a clear definition of the future political status of the Philippines. The president of the United States who signed the act called it a Filipino-American "covenant," a word which events have shown was used in a literary rather than a legal sense. The president, of course, did not commit political duplicity; the law has no legal mandatory force when it comes to the question of terminating American sovereignty over the Philippines.

Therefore, to make the grant of independence constitutionally practicable the Congressional enabling act should be

accompanied, under a specific mandatory provision, by the overt act, on the part of the president, granting independence during the legal life of the Congress which passed the necessary legislation. This theory necessarily precludes the hypothesis of prematurity or post-dating the declaration of Philippine independence through the enactment of Congressional legislation effective as of the future.

The present political status of the Philippines is clear and definite—it is that of a possession of the United States. Their future political status is also clear and definite—it is that of an independent nation and not a permanent integral part of the United States. The country is passing through a period of transition which should be improved by preparing for independence. The fashion among the Filipinos of standing at a metaphorical Wailing Wall of politics, bemoaning the uncertainty of the political status of the country, is taken as the hallmark of statesmanship when in reality it is nothing but a convenient alibi for many sins of omission and commission that pass for heroism, patriotism, and nationalism.

It may be explained at this juncture that a Congressional act calling for a plebiscite or referendum among the Filipino voters to determine, before it is finally granted, whether they really want independence, can serve no higher purpose than to prepare the ground for future controversies and disillusionments. The result of such plebiscitary determination has only persuasive and not binding effect on the Congress called upon to act. An affirmative vote may not find America in a position to act accordingly for conceivable reasons of national and international import. On the contrary, a negative one may not see America in a receptive mood to have the Philippines continue any longer under the American flag. These harassing possibilities are obvious.

The sure path to ultimate independence is the avenue paved with concrete preparedness and thorough preparation for an unconditional and unqualified independence. When that condition becomes an accomplished fact, America can refuse to

grant independence only by committing an act of national faithlessness which the American people will not countenance. To-day she can refuse independence not only as a high moral duty but as an act of good conscience by reason of its ruinous and mischievous effects on the Filipino people.

It is the audacity of ignorance, and not the dictate of circumspcctive patriotism, to ignore or minimize the unfavorable international conditions now prevailing in the Orient. The less than thirteen million defenseless though courageous Filipinos are closely hemmed in by one billion peoples of Asia who are restless for new fields of habitation. The crowded, starved, and war-stirred condition on the West Pacific littoral constitutes the most formidable external problem of an independent Philippines.

Discarding the shield of American protection will throw the islands upon the mercy of Asiatic militarism and imperialism, exposing the country to the overwhelming, disintegrating forces of mass immigration from China, economic penetration from Japan, and communistic infiltration from Russia.

A hundred exclusion laws promulgated by the Philippine Republic without the necessary power to enforce them rigidly are of no avail. Treaties with China regulating immigration can only be effective if the Chinese government has control over the Chinese people, which, unhappily, is not the case.

The menace of Japanese economic penetration is discarded by some on the allegation that the Japanese are not so interested in the tropics because they are a cold weather people. In the first place, the Japanese are very much interested in the tropics. In the second, the British, the French, and the Dutch are cold-weather peoples, but they control most of the tropical areas of the world. No one has yet been hyper-imaginative enough to give climate as a reason why America should leave the Philippines, and yet the American people are a cold-weather people too.

Communism as it manifests itself in the Orient at present is not even a theory in political philosophy; it is, without exag-

geration, a state of mental derangement. The danger of communism is new but great and is gaining momentum.

America, by her mere presence and interest, and without being under the commitments of treaties, functions as a stabilizing and moderating influence in the Orient, a region that is heavily charged with political explosives. Her premature withdrawal therefrom would unbalance the delicate international equilibrium in that section of the world, producing ominous political repercussions and precipitating unfortunate consequences, not excluding the possibility of a universal conflagration.



## BARRIE: THE PLAYWRIGHT

PIERCE BUTLER

IT USED to be—and for that matter, still is—one of the commonplaces of literary criticism to divide literature into two categories, the subjective and the objective, and to place the drama unmistakably as objective literature. The lyric, for example, is subjective, revealing the personal emotions and reactions of the writer. The drama is objective, representing the emotions and reactions of imagined characters, among whom the playwright himself must not intrude. And from this there follows the observation that whereas we could and indeed must know something of the personality of the poet, we might not know, and indeed ought not to seek to know, aught of the personality of the playwright. We have good warrant for assuming that Burns was hilarious when he sang, "O, Willie brewed a peck o' Ma't," or that Byron was in tears when he wrote, "When we two parted In silence and tears." But we had no right to assume that Shakespeare himself, and not just Macbeth, really felt life was "a tale told by an idiot, full of sound and fury, signifying nothing."

With the soundness and wisdom of these findings, in general, we have no occasion to quarrel. But when we begin to reflect upon the plays of one of our own contemporaries, about whose life and personality we can learn a good deal, we feel less secure in these general truths. Such is the case with Sir James Barrie: we cannot wholly separate the man from his plays. We are continually encountering his gentle yet shrewd face in the background, and hearing his kindly humor, like a burden to music, moderating speech and action in his plays. For this reason it would be well first to get a friendly acquaintance with him, to learn something of his manners, his likes and dislikes, his outlook on the world, before we examine a few of his plays. We shall not list any important biographical data of the ordinary sort, further than the barest facts; but

we do want to summon up, if we can, the spirit that has informed the man.

Mr. Barrie was born in the little town of Kirriemuir, in 1860—just seventy-two years ago. And from that time to this, he would have you believe, he has been the same. We have his quite solemn word for it, in the dedication to *Peter Pan* which he has supplied for the one volume collection of his plays: "Some say that we are different people at different periods of our lives, changing not through effort of will, which is a brave affair, but in the easy course of nature every ten years or so. I suppose this theory might explain my present trouble, but I don't hold with it; I think one remains the same person throughout, merely passing, as it were, in these lapses of time from one room to another, but all in the same house. If we unlock the rooms of the far past we can peer in and see ourselves, busily occupied in beginning to become you and me."

Now, if you remember the full title, *Peter Pan, or the Boy who would not Grow Up*, you will catch both the delightful aptness of the words just quoted as a preface to this play, and the significance they may well have for our purpose. Not only has Mr. Barrie never outgrown the influences that he felt as a boy, but he has never wanted to. When we are suddenly struck and delighted by some flash of direct clear light upon "grown-up" problems in his plays and novels, it is because he has himself not grown up, because he looks at people and problems with that disconcertingly clear sight and candid mind of the boy who could and did rejoice in make-believe, but who knew it was make-believe; who could turn a deserted wash-house shed into a pirate's cave on a desert island, and in a flash return to reality as he trotted ten yards or so to his mother's house in answer to her call. That idea of the wholesomeness of make-believe, so long as you hold firmly to the certainty that it is make-believe and do not confuse it with reality, has remained a firm tenet of the author

of *The Little Minister* and *Peter Pan*, and *Alice-Sit-By-The-Fire*, and *The Admirable Crichton*.

The boy born in the little Scotch town was educated, in the prosaic sense of that word, very much as other Scotch boys were in a land that has long been justly proud of the fact that poverty shall not be a bar to those of talent and industry. He was very thoroughly and conventionally schooled in solid learning at Dumfries Academy and at Edinburgh University; and he is now a university man; but all this that our easy-road-to-learning faddists would stigmatize as soul-killing gerund-grinding certainly did not destroy his fanciful imagination, did not take the boy out of him. It did not in any harmful way clash with that other influence which helped to make the boy, his mother. In no way, indeed, can you get a better understanding of Barrie than by reading and re-reading his charming sketch of his mother, *Margaret Ogilvy*; for there you see where Barrie acquired that kindly outlook on life, that shrewd perception of reality, that modesty and humor, and that relentless persistence toward the goal that have marked him. Barrie's mother was poor, and had little formal education. But she was a great reader, an eager and diligent learner, ironing shirts and reading Gibbon's *Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire*, ambitious for herself and for her son, and furiously jealous of any literary competitor who outdid his budding literary efforts—in short, just a mother in a thousand. "She told me everything," says he, "and so my memories of our little red town are coloured by her memories. I knew it as it had been for generations."

A few passages may give you an idea of the relation between mother and son. For example, the boy heard a fine couplet quoted from the poet Cowley: "I hurried home with the mouthful, but neighbours had dropped in, and this was for her ears only, so I drew her to the stair, and said imperiously,

What can I do to be forever known  
And make the age to come my own?

It was an odd request for which to draw her from the tea-table, and she must have been surprised, but I think she did not laugh, and in after years she would repeat the lines fondly, with a flush on her soft face. 'That is the kind you would like to be yourself!' we would say in jest to her, and she would reply almost passionately, 'No, but I would be windy of being his mother.' "

"We had read somewhere that a novelist [Barrie was then writing novels] is better equipped than most of his trade if he knows himself and one woman, and my mother said, 'you know yourself, for everybody must know himself,' . . . and she would add dolefully,

" 'But I doubt I'm the only woman you know well.'

" 'Then I must make you my heroine,' I said lightly.

" 'A gey auld-farrant-like heroine!' she said, and we both laughed at the notion—so little did we read the future."

She was very frail, and her son insisted on her lying down part of the day. If it chanced that he had to leave the house, he would exact a promise that she lie down until his return: "In an hour or so I return, and perhaps find her in bed, according to promise, but still I am suspicious. The way to her detection is circuitous.

" 'I'll need to be rising now,' she says, with a yawn that may be genuine.

" 'How long have you been in bed?'

" 'You saw me go.'

" 'And then I saw you at the window. Did you go straight back to bed?'

" 'Surely I had that much sense.'

" 'The truth!'

" 'I might have taken a look at the clock first.'

" 'It is a terrible thing to have a mother who prevaricates. Have you been lying down ever since I left?'

" 'Thereabout.'

" 'What does that mean exactly?'

" 'Off and on.'

" 'Have you been to the garret?'

" 'What should I do in the garret?'

" 'But have you?'

" 'I might just have looked up the garret stair.'

" 'You have been redding up the garret again!'

" 'Not what you could call a redd up.'

" 'O woman, woman, I believe you have not been in bed at all!'

" 'You see me in it.'

" 'My opinion is that you jumped into bed when you heard me open the door.'

" 'Havers.'

" 'Did you?'

" 'No.'

" 'Well, then, when you heard me at the gate?'

" 'It might have been when I heard you at the gate.' "

Remember that when Barrie was making his first bid for literary fame with such things as his *Auld Licht Idylls*, *A Window in Thrums*, and the novel of *The Little Minister*, the great prince of romance, who was also a Scottish lad, Robert Louis Stevenson, was still writing with brave heart and in the finest prose of his day. There was no unworthy envy of Stevenson in young Barrie's heart, rather a wondering relish of qualities of style and vigor of fancy that he knew to be other than his. But in his mother's heart there reigned uncompromising jealousy of the brilliant rival. Uncompromising, that is, until her son mischievously trapped her into reading Stevenson: "If you would know what was his unpardonable crime, it was this, he wrote better books than mine. . . . 'I could never thole his books,' said my mother immediately, and indeed vindictively.

" 'You have not read any of them,' I reminded her.

" 'And never will,' said she with spirit. . . . For weeks too, if not for months, she adhered to her determination not to read him, though I . . . was taking a pleasure, almost malicious, in putting *The Master of Ballantrae* in her way. I would

place it on her table so that it said good-morning to her when she rose. She would frown, and carrying it downstairs, as if she had it in the tongs, replace it on its book-shelf. I would wrap it up in the cover she had made for the latest Carlyle: she would skin it contemptuously and again bring it down. . . . And at last I got her, though I forget by which of many contrivances. What I recall vividly is a key-hole view, to which another member of the family invited me. Then I saw my mother wrapped up in *The Master of Ballantrae* and muttering the music to herself, nodding her head in approval, and taking a stealthy glance at the foot of each page before she began at the top. Nevertheless she had an ear for the door, for when I bounced in she had been too clever for me; there was no book to be seen, only an apron on her lap and she was gazing out at the window. Some such conversation as this followed:

" 'You have been sitting very quietly, mother.'

" 'I always sit quietly, I never do anything, I'm just a finished stocking.'

" 'Have you been reading?'

" 'Do I ever read at this time of day?'

" 'What is that in your lap?'

" 'Just my apron.'

" 'Is that a book beneath the apron?'

" 'It might be a book.'

" 'Let me see.'

" 'Go away with you to your work.'

" 'But I lifted the apron. 'Why, it's *The Master of Ballantrae*!' I exclaimed, shocked.

" 'So it is!' said my mother, equally surprised. But I looked sternly at her, and perhaps she blushed.

" 'Well what do you think: not nearly equal to mine?' said I with humour.

" 'Nothing like them,' she said determinedly. . . . And then like a good mother she took up one of her son's books and read it most determinedly. It had become a touching incident to

me, and I remember how we there and then agreed upon a compromise: she was to read the enticing thing just to convince herself of its inferiority. . . . But how enamoured she was of *Treasure Island*, and how faithful she tried to be to me all the time she was reading it!

"Those pirate stories are so uninteresting. . . . Do you think you will finish this one?"

"I may as well go on with it since I have begun it,' my mother says, so slyly that my sister and I shake our heads at each other to imply, 'was there ever such a woman?"

"There are none of those one-legged scoundrels in my books,' I say.

"Better without them,' she replies promptly. . . . I remember how she read *Treasure Island*, holding it close to the ribs of the fire (because she could not spare a moment to rise and light the gas) and how, when bed-time came, and we coaxed, remonstrated, scolded, she said quite fiercely, clinging to the book, 'I dinna lay my head on a pillow this night till I see how that laddie got out of the barrel.'

"After this, I think, he (Stevenson) was as bewitching as the laddie in the barrel to her—Was he not always a laddie in the barrel himself, climbing in for apples while we all stood around, like gamins, waiting for a bite? He was the spirit of boyhood tugging at the skirts of this old world of ours and compelling it to come back and play. . . . But never in the end did she admit (in words) that he had a way with him which was beyond her son."

Surely, you feel that you know a good deal about this mother and this son. You can understand that with such a mother, with such a nature, with such experiences in boyhood and in young manhood, Barrie could never have any such unhappy and morbid views as color that sordid and powerful tale of a perverted childhood and youth, *The Way of all Flesh*. Which view of life is nearer the general truth? Which is the more wholesome to believe in and to contemplate? It is the fashion to designate Barrie as merely a weak sentiment-



talist. What we have been reading is sentimental. Thank God for it, because it is the same sort of sentiment which has made possible the best creatures in poor human form since Eve played thus with her boy Abel.

But we must turn at once to some consideration of the plays, which are our principal concern. He began his career about 1891, with *Becky Sharp*, soon went on with the more successful farce of *Walker, London*, progressed yet a step further with the still popular *Professor's Love Story*, and first really found himself, in 1897, with the play made from his own novel, *The Little Minister*. Then followed *Quality Street*, *The Admirable Crichton*, *Little Mary*, *Peter Pan* (1904), *Alice-Sit-By-The-Fire*, *What Every Woman Knows*, *The Twelve Pound Look*, and so on. In this long list, from which many are omitted, we can comment on but a few; and we had best attempt some general comments before we look at particular items.

Oddly enough, one may quite fairly detect certain points in common between Ibsen and Barrie, in spite of the notorious unlikeness of the two men and the wide divergence of their methods and their manner of representing life. It will be noted that almost the first essay of Barrie in the theatre, in fact his second play, was a burlesque of Ibsen which some worshippers of the Norseman speak of with angry disdain. Nevertheless, can you not laugh at the lady in *Ibsen's Ghost*, who, as it were, gets the habit of asserting her right and duty to know the world, and gets quite weary of herself: "To run away from my second husband just as I ran away from my first, it feels quite like old times." I laugh at her and still preserve due regard for Nora and for her creator, just as Barrie does, for he says in that same preface to *Peter Pan*: "I remember every detail of . . . my first little piece, produced by Mr. Toole. It was called *Ibsen's Ghost*, and was a parody of the mightiest craftsman that ever wrote for our kind friends in front. . . . On the first night a man in the pit found *Ibsen's Ghost* so diverting that he had to be removed in hysterics. After that no one

seems to have thought of it at all. But what a man to carry about with one!" This bit shows Barrie's modesty as well as his fairness to the man he had laughed at, and it shows in him the readiness to be laughed at himself, which is not often conspicuous in such people as set up an idolatry of Shakespeare or Browning or Ibsen. But there is a more important thing to note as regards Ibsen and Barrie. Ibsen was certainly more notably successful with his women than with his man; we need but glance at Nora, Hedda, Rebecca West, Lona Hessel, to know that they are the most living and the most effective forces in the plays where they appear. In some sort, Ibsen became the outstanding interpreter of the woman of modern society. What is the case in Barrie's plays? In almost every one of them, the woman is the outstanding figure and the directing force. *The Little Minister* may occupy the pulpit, but Lady Babbie plays the tune; Sir Harry may be knighted, but Kate writes the needful letters; in short, it is, says Barrie, *What Every Woman Knows*, that she manages the men-folk. It is not an idle coincidence, of course, that two of the notable dramatists of our times should devote so much of their talent to depicting women. It is simply due, for the most part, to the chance that the changes going forward in society gave woman a new importance and made quite new situations for her, and of course both writers saw this. But they saw their women, in all the more obvious points, quite differently. It would be absurd to compare Barrie's heroines with Nora or Hedda or Mrs. Alving. The two conceptions are, admittedly, miles apart. Ibsen is generally quite earnest and serious, though Lona Hessel and Hedda have plenty of humor; he observes the increasing self-reliance and independence of women in society, and he shows the need for these qualities, and their consequences; he does not dream of investing them with any particular charm, he does not want to make you fall in love with them as women, but to make you study and respect them as human creatures. Moreover, he seems to get the type from his own observation and reflection.

It would be hard indeed to trace any credible literary antecedents for these women; and, with the exception of Hilda Wangel, equally as hard to detect the conscious copying of women among his associates.

Now Barrie's heroines have a distinct two-fold relationship. On the one hand, they are incarnations of the one he knew the best of all, his mother. On the other hand, as regards their stage attitude and manner, they are great-granddaughters of Shakespeare's Rosalind. And being such, they are purposely and distinctly endowed with a charm that makes you love them. It has been hastily said by some that Barrie's feminine personage was made for and in part by Maude Adams or Ellen Terry; but the essential traits were all in Lady Babbie and in Grizzel and in the portrait of Margaret Ogilvy. It is, one might quite fairly say, a conception of the eternal feminine, most familiar to us in Shakespeare's heroines, and most affectionately cherished by Barrie as what his mother was.

May it be suggested that, in spite of the utter difference between the traditional romantic creation of the Shakespeare-Barrie kind and the Noras and Heddas of Ibsen, each of these writers represents the ladies as having one distinctive trait in common, one that they assume to be peculiarly feminine? Let us begin by noting that Nora, for example, knows her own mind, knows what she wants, and unhesitatingly takes the direct road to reach what she wants. That is what gets her into trouble. Likewise, Rosalind knows what she wants—Orlando (though why she wants him has always been something of a mystery); and she goes after him with a straightforward determination that reck little of opposing conventions. And, to suggest another example, those who remember their *Romeo and Juliet* know that Juliet hesitates for scarcely a moment to take the dangerous drug that promises her reunion with Romeo. She does not weigh the cost, but is direct and purposeful in using the means to the desired end. And Barrie's heroines notoriously show the same trait. Indeed,

in one of his plays, *The Adored One* (usually called *Leonora*), the purpose and meaning of the play is to present this trait as the distinctively feminine characteristic. Here as in most of his work Barrie is not portentously solemn about it! He insinuates his idea amid the laughter of what is almost a farce. Leonora is a very charming young mother, light-hearted, seemingly quite irresponsible, but with a singleness of purpose that drives straight to the mark. The essentials of the story are very simple. Leonora is in great trouble, in fact, she is to be tried for a murder of a peculiarly reckless sort. It develops that she was on her way up to London to visit her sister, bringing her little daughter, Millie, who had a cold. And, quoting from memory the explanation which Leonora makes in court and which she really thinks ought to free her of all blame:<sup>1</sup> "You see, Millie had a sniffy little cold, and those colds, you know, just will grow into croup, and then pneumonia or goodness knows what, unless you are careful. And in the railway carriage there was a horrid old man sitting by the window of the only compartment we could get. He had the window open, and I told him Millie had a sniffy little cold, you know. And he just wouldn't shut the window. Well, Millie had a sniffy little cold; so, as he wouldn't shut the window, I just had to open the door and shove him out. And then I shut the window, because Millie had a sniffy little cold." There you have it, the old gentleman who craved fresh air was tumbled out of the train. For the instant relief of masculine friends who may be at once dubious and apprehensive about this procedure, we may add that he was not seriously injured, and that Leonora is cleared. Of course, she should be; her feminine logic is perfect; she had only done what any dutiful mother would do. You see, in Barrie's farce Leonora is as regardless of the consequence to the old gentleman as Nora in her forgery was regardless of the consequences to others.

It would be too bold a thing to say, that Barrie consciously and deliberately set himself the task of stemming the tide of

<sup>1</sup> The play is not printed in the standard edition, but the idea is used in *Seven Women* now included in the *Plays*.

what was called the realistic drama, the naturalistic play, the problem play, with its monotonous insistence upon the one situation of marital infidelity, the situation of the wife and the husband and the mistress, or the husband and the wife and the lover. But there is much of his work in the drama that points in this direction. There is one play in particular that is such a delicious travesty of the conventional triangle play built on the sort of formula we have just mentioned that it is very significant for Barrie's purpose and theory. The play is, of course, *Alice-Sit-By-The-Fire*.

The significance of Barrie, indeed, is to be sought largely in his quiet, but none the less resolute and penetrating attack upon the ideas which he perceives as dominant in the feminist movement. In one aspect, these ideas manifest themselves to him through Ibsen, hence he is anti-Ibsen, in one of his early plays outspokenly so. It is not our contention that he is always right in this: we mean hardly more than to insist on the fact that it seems to him right to protest against what he regards as a disproportionate and socially harmful, because unsound, emphasis upon woman as an element in society. In yet another way is Barrie a protestant, the protest in this case being somewhat like a logical corollary from that just mentioned. With delicious mild scorn he repudiates the assumption that the sort of play he condemns represents real life. He laughs at the realistic or materialistic pretenders and their "slice of life"—and ridicule is a most effective weapon. And with mischievous delight he demonstrates the cheap stage tricks of the triangle play manufactured according to formula.

Of course, the standpoint from which the dramatist views life as exhibited in society will determine his whole play. And equally of course, Barrie is an optimist in the sense that he prefers to see and to represent the good in ordinary mortals. He is an optimist just as Browning was with his:

Have you found your life distasteful?  
My life did and does smack sweet.  
Was your youth of pleasure wasteful?

Mine I saved and hold complete.  
 Do your joys with age diminish?  
 When mine fail me I'll complain.  
 Must in death your daylight finish?  
 My sun sets to rise again.

What, like you, he proved—Your Pilgrim—  
 This our world a wilderness,  
 Earth still gray and heaven still grim,  
 Not a hand there his might press,  
 Not a heart his own might throb to,  
 Men all rogues and women—say,  
 Dolls which boys' heads duck and bob to,  
 Grown folk drop or throw away?

My experience being other,  
 How should I contribute verse  
 Worthy of your king and brother?  
 Balaam-like I bless, not curse.  
 I find earth not gray but rosy,  
 Heaven not grim but fair of hue.  
 Do I stoop? I pluck a posy.  
 Do I stand and stare? All's blue.

Now, remember, it is hopeless and uncritical to berate a man for writing and thinking so. His art is his own expression, his right is as much as your right may be, if you choose a different form, tone, and temper of expression. Criticism should be tolerant of each sort of expression, because criticism should recognize the presence of both good and evil in life, and hence should accord to the writer the freedom to present his representation of life with either good or evil as the more significant, according to his experience and his temperament. Criticism has the right, indeed it has the duty, to demur and protest only when the writer dares rashly to offer his experience and his opinion as at once exclusive and universal. That Barrie does not do this might, at need, be demonstrated from other plays than this quite unpretentious bit of fun.

We might also use *Alice-Sit-By-The-Fire* to call attention to the manner of stage directions which Barrie has made pecu-

liarily his own. Perhaps because he was a novelist as well as a playwright, perhaps in imitation of the recent practice of his contemporaries, he means to provide for the reader of his plays as well as for the spectator at the theatre; he wants to provide for the reader the means of setting, staging, and acting the play as he sits in his chair at home. It is a difficult undertaking, but there's a cannie man on the job. One might say, hardly with exaggeration, that the mere reader, if he catches Barrie's hints, has almost everything but the orchestra. It would be tedious; it would, moreover, spoil the fun, to try to demonstrate each particular of this art as Barrie here practices it. But note how careful is this painstaking and experienced man of the living stage to insinuate in the midst of what may seem a casual narrative or description the physical properties on the stage that will be necessary for his action. Frequently this is done with a broad hint to you to be on the lookout. Just one example must serve: "Near the door is a large screen, such as people hide behind in the more ordinary sort of play; it will be interesting to see whether we can resist the temptation to hide some one behind it."

The basic situation of this play must be understood first, and the plausibility of the situation conceded, otherwise the play fails. And herein lies its chief weakness. For the action depends upon your knowing the customs of the English service in India. You must grant that it is not a wholly impossible situation: the children, ranging in age from seventeen to two, sent home from India, where the hot climate is very bad for English children, and reared by nurses and servants in England, so that they are really not acquainted with their parents. It is stretching the probabilities a bit too much, even if we happen to remember that Thackeray (to quote from an encyclopedia article) "was born in Calcutta, where his father was at the time in the service of the East India Company. . . . at the age of six he was sent to England. . . . but in 1821 his mother returned." Thackeray was then ten years



old, just three years younger than the Cosmo of our play. Admitting all that may be said against this odd situation, let us for this once grant Barrie a fairy-tale license surely no more extraordinary than Shakespeare claims when he brings all his folk to meet in the forest of Arden, and then let us observe these children educating their parents and guarding them from the perils of "Life" as life is represented in the popular triangle play, from "The School for Scandal" to "Lady Windermere's Fan."

Colonel Grey and his wife, Alice, are expected home from India, to rejoin the three children from whom they have been separated almost constantly. The eldest, Amy Grey, aged seventeen, has been in a sort the head of the little household in England, where she and her brother Cosmo, cadet at Osborne, have been at school. There is also Molly, the baby, recently sent home from India. Amy and Cosmo, of course, hardly know their father and mother; but that does not hinder them from forming very fantastic images of Colonel Grey and Alice, and planning how they shall treat them. Cosmo is particularly concerned that his father should be impressed by his manly dignity, and should refrain from any of the customary demonstrations of affection between fathers and little boys. But Amy is very worldly-wise. She has quite recently acquired this wisdom by frequent attendance at the theatres where "strong" plays representing real life have educated her to know Life, with a capital. She and her chum Ginevra Osborne have seen dozens of such plays, where there is always a lover, a villain, a deluded lady, a sinister valet who is exceedingly ready at all sorts of intrigues, and all the other paraphernalia of the triangle play.

When the Colonel and Alice arrive they are completely misunderstood because Amy and Cosmo for a while cherish the absurd fancy portraits formed of them. An old friend, Stephen Rollo, a quite innocent bachelor, calls. Amy, educated to know Life, conceives the idea that he designs carrying on an intrigue with Alice. She, accidentally behind the

fatal screen indicated above, overhears him make an appointment for Colonel Grey and Alice to meet him at his rooms, and she takes it to be an assignation. She nobly resolves to rescue this reckless woman, so innocent of Life (as seen in the theatre). She goes to Rollo's rooms for this purpose. It happens that Rollo had never met her, and so is quite bewildered by the theatric poses of the earnest young heroine who in hissing tones demands the letters, the incriminating letters which she supposes he and Alice have exchanged. Just at this crisis you hear Alice and the Colonel coming to keep their appointment. Amy hides in Rollo's china closet. The Colonel comes a little before Alice, discovers a glove dropped by Amy in her flight, and teases Rollo about his romance. Then Alice comes, and discovers Amy in the closet. She tries to whisk Amy out of the closet and make it seem that she had come in from the stairs; but the Colonel notes that the one glove Amy wears matches the one he picked up. And he insists on an explanation that Steve Rollo can not give without betraying either Amy or Alice or both. Of course, Amy knows how to save the day. She announces, in an imitation of the best stage manner, "He is my affianced husband." But the Colonel is suspicious, and Amy herself is assured that only her heroism saved the erring mother whom she loves. Alice plumbs the shallows, so to speak, of Amy's stage-taught wisdom. She indulges Amy in the idea that the Colonel has been a brutal husband. She takes Amy to see a play in which reconciliation is effected between an estranged husband and wife by the opportune appearance of their child. She betrays the Colonel into a playful quarrel in which he threatens to beat her, and orders her to go, in loud tones: "Go. Go. Go." As he roars it Amy peeps in anxiously. She is in her nightgown, and her hair is down and her feet are bare, and she does not look so very much more than five. Alice is unable to resist the temptation.

"*Alice*, wailing, 'Must I go, Robert?'

"Amy, 'Going away? Mother! Father, if mother goes away, what is to become of me?'"

"She draws them together until their hands clasp. There is now a beatific smile on her face. The curtain sees that its time has come. It clicks, and falls."

In spite of the dainty lightness of touch in this play, Barrie uses a keen blade. We know of no professed satire on the modern drama that approaches this play, for he leaves with you the irresistible suggestion that such things as Amy and Ginevra have fondly accepted for "holding the mirror up to nature" are just fit for the Amys and Ginevras. After this only the resolute and unhumorous "uplifter" could take the problem play quite seriously.

But Barrie has his more serious moods too, moods that certainly attain to sincere pathos if not to sublime tragedy, in such things as *Dear Brutus*, *The Old Lady Shows Her Medals*, and *Mary Rose*. Of these we can not speak at length, though we should like to say a good deal of the fine, delicate, technical devices to dramatize an idea in *Dear Brutus*, and of the rather profound usefulness to us of the message of courage and frank recognition of our own responsibility for those things that do not please us in what we call our fate.

There is, however, more that solicits comment in *The Admirable Crichton*. First, note that the play as a whole is a salutary reminder of how peculiarly artificial and unstable is the whole structure of our society. And then note the easy use made of a device as old as Shakespeare, and older, to get his dramatic situation. The playwright is often confronted with the difficulty of getting his people together where and when he wants them. Mrs. Jones and Molly Easy do not know each other, do not move in the same circles, as we say, but they must meet, or Fred Jones will not have that bad quarter of an hour for which we have been waiting. And they must meet at a place and time that will make the meeting at once plausible and dramatic. Now Barrie's favourite device for getting all of his people where he would have them is an

island, as he tells you himself. There are islands, real, imagined, or symbolic, sprinkled thickly through his plays. There is the fairy isle of *Mary Rose*, for example; or the "island" of Mr. Lob's tricky house, in *Dear Brutus*, where you may for a spell be your dream self instead of your every-day self. Just so Shakespeare transports you to an island for *The Tempest*, or to an "island" where they "fleet the time as in the golden age" for *As You Like It*. Just so Barrie makes his dramatic situation, in *The Admirable Crichton*, by bodily transporting his entire cast from the world of ordinary social conventions to an uninhabited island, and then back again to London. He deliberately asks you to contrast the behaviour, the qualities, and the rank of a typical English group, first in the "right little, tight little island," then on the island where natural conditions prevail, and then again in England.

The first act introduces you to the group, at Loam House in Mayfair—Loam House, the very name reeking of wealth and ease. Lord Loam is a dignified and pompous peer who thinks he is extremely liberal, not to say radical, in his social views. He insists on having all the servants to tea, on a footing of equality, once a month. The servants, dragooned by Crichton, the butler, are ill at ease and reluctant, as are the earl's three daughters and his nephew, Ernest Woolley. Perhaps Barrie's description of Ernest may suggest also something of the other aristocrats in the picture: "A moment before the curtain rises, the Honorable Ernest Woolley drives up to the door of Loam House in Mayfair. There is a happy smile on his pleasant, insignificant face, and this presumably means that he is thinking of himself. He is too busy over nothing, this man about town, to be always thinking of himself, but, on the other hand, he almost never thinks of any other person. Probably Ernest's great moment is when he wakes of a morning and realizes that he really is Ernest, for we must all wish to be that which is our ideal. We can conceive him springing out of bed light-heartedly and waiting for his man to do the rest."

Lord Loam and his party, accompanied by Crichton and the maid of all work, Tweenie, sail on a tour of exploration aboard his yacht, the *Bluebell*. The yacht is wrecked on an uninhabited island. Acts II and III show us how natural conditions reverse the artificial arrangements of society, how nature finds out and tests the real quality of the man. As Burns said:

A prince can mak a belted knight,  
A marquis, duke, and a'that,  
But an honest man's aboon his might;  
Guid faith, he mauna fa' that!

The admirable Crichton, the butler, proves himself the resourceful leader. He it is that has the energy, the skill, the ingenuity to save the party from perishing in the wilderness. Two years pass, and Crichton has a well regulated community, all safely and comfortably housed, all in the places for which their actual capacities fit them, with himself as their unquestioned ruler, and Lord Loam quite simply happy as man of all work, peeling vegetables and catching fish. In Tweenie's remark to him, "you're of little use, but you're a bright cheerful creature to have about the house," you get the idea of how things have changed, and also a most painfully clear suggestion of one opinion about peers. But a ship, at last, comes to their rescue, and Act IV shows us the same party back at Loam House. Lord Loam is again an English grandee; the Lady Mary, who had been about to marry the ruler of the "other island," is now her old haughty self; and Crichton is again the perfect butler, though he gives notice that he is retiring.

If you remember Barrie's dictum that one really does not change in any of the fundamentals of character, you will see it admirably set forth in this play. You will see something like the same idea in *Dear Brutus*. In short, it is perhaps this idea which limits his representation of character. He has no great range of personages, nor does he know them through and through. It must be said that, in a sense, all or

nearly all are of the stage and for the stage. They have no independent existence, so that you believe in them as you do in the personages of Shakespeare or of Ibsen. But even if it be only a surface presentation of men and women and life that Barrie makes, what a fascinating surface it is! He tells that, as a boy, he revelled in the make-believe world of his own fancy. He has given the world most precious pages from that fancy. There are no really bad characters in that world, no really sinister figures. If you set out to make a world as you like it, would you, or would you not, impose restrictions on the immigration of undesirable aliens, the importation of ugly pictures and dangerous explosives? It is to such a world of sweetness and light and mischievous fun that Barrie invites you, with no pretense that it is the real world. His purpose is far more solace and delight than any attempt at moral instruction through a serious criticism of life. And, frankly, there are worse things for the weary human spirit than solace and delight.

## THE CONTEMPORARY QUEST FOR THE GREAT SOCIETY

J. FRED RIPPY

IT IS not the purpose of this article to examine the world's recent Utopian literature. Much of this is already familiar. Moreover, almost any historian can tell you that it bulks largest in times of crisis. It is our aim merely to discuss a few of the best works which have been motivated by the present crisis; and we should like to believe that these are more realistic than romantic, practical rather than Utopian. At any rate, they come from the pens of business men and professors in schools of economics and business.

"The habit of general thought, undaunted by novelty, is the gift of philosophy. . . . The Greek philosopher who laid the foundation of all our finer thoughts ended his . . . dialogue with the reflection that the ideal state could never arrive till philosophers are kings. To-day, in an age of democracy, the kings are the plain citizens pursuing their various avocations. There can be no successful democratic society till general education conveys a philosophic outlook."

" . . . The behavior of the community is largely dominated by the business mind. A great society is a society in which its men of business think greatly of their functions. Low thoughts mean low behaviour, and after a brief orgy of exploitation, low behaviour means a descending standard of life. . . . The motive of [business] success is not enough. It produces a short-sighted world which destroys the sources of its own prosperity. The cycles of trade depression which afflict the world warn us that business relations are infected through and through with the disease of short-sighted motives. . . ."

These are the words of a philosopher and not of a business man, but they are taken from the introduction of a most thoughtful and stimulating volume<sup>1</sup> recently published by a

<sup>1</sup>Wallace Brett Donham, *Business Adrift* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1931. Pp. xxix, 165. Price \$2.00).



successful man of business and the Dean of Harvard's Graduate School of Business Administration. It may therefore be assumed that Harvard's Dean Donham is in agreement with Harvard's philosopher Whitehead.

Dean Donham deals with fundamentals. He maintains that there is a "critical need of a general plan for American business which is based upon a philosophical study of our relationship to civilization." In fact, he has himself become a philosopher. He says that it is necessary to recognize that "immaterial needs and wants not capable of satisfaction by commodities, compete with commodities produced by and upon which business depends." He contends that the principal unsatisfied wants in the United States to-day—wants which perhaps no amount of commodities or money can satisfy in view of the instability of our economic system—are "the want for security, including steady employment . . . and the want for leisure to enjoy civilization." He concludes that "sound progress is possible only if this competition [between the desire for *things* and *leisure* and the desire for *security*] is taken into account and if labor as well as capital gets an equitable share of our increasing control over nature." Otherwise purchasing power, the prime essential of expanding business, will be greatly reduced: the unemployed can not purchase commodities because they lack funds and the insecure will not purchase commodities because they lack security.

Dean Bonham advises the business leaders of the United States not to undertake an aggressive export policy, for he believes that this would drag down our living standards and greatly injure, if not even destroy, capitalistic society in Germany and England. He insists that emphasis be placed upon the development of the home market. "Can we restrain our exports and solve our approaching persistent unemployment and business problems through our home market of 125,000,000 people? . . . If government does its part in times of depression [namely, if it undertakes the collection of unemployment data and the construction of public works], we can not only

do this, but through this home market we can steadily raise standards of living and meet increasingly the needs and wants of our people for security and leisure.

"This is possible through our steadily increasing control over nature [the work of the natural scientists and technologists in the Great Society] and improving management, but it is possible only if we recognize that insecurity is our worst business competitor and that lack of leisure limits home markets for things made by business." Thus the Great Society toward which Dean Donham looks will be a society where there is a more equitable distribution of income, a greater sense of security, and more leisure for the enjoyment of things both tangible and intangible. He hopes to bring it about through the coöperation of social philosophers, statesmen, and business engineers, and he hopes to enlist the efforts of the latter by appealing to their enlightened self-interest. This society may be achieved first in the United States—in part by the aid of tariffs to protect the home market—but not without intelligent consideration for the rest of the world. The author thinks a plan for the United States may be practicable, but he deems a world plan at present impossible both in its sane conception and in its execution.

With his usual seductive style and with a humor that almost belies the seriousness of his indictment, Stuart Chase—accountant, statistician, author, and social philosopher—depicts the tragedy, the irrationality, the ugliness, and the moral strain of some phases of big business in the United States. He thinks that the technical collapse of our highly industrialized urban life can be avoided only by the speedy and devoted efforts of philosopher-engineers. He calls for a world conference on economic disarmament; a revision of the credit system by the Stable Money Association; a National Planning Board and a Ten Year Plan; the amendment of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law so as to permit the "regularization of production and the allocation of markets, but only when consistent with the proper regard for the conservation of natural

resources, and with due protection, through public regulation, for the consumer against monopoly prices"; a "slum-raizing and home-building program" presumably under the direction of the national and local governments; the abolition of stock-exchange gambling; and, finally, the maintenance of the present wage level along with a shortening of working hours.<sup>2</sup>

In another volume<sup>3</sup> he contrasts, somewhat to our disadvantage, the highly industrialized system of the United States with the simple economic and social life prevailing in the major portion of Mexico. In order to make the contrast more vivid he places the life of our own Middletown by the side of that in the little Mexican agricultural village of Tepoztlán.

"In Middletown [Muncie, Indiana], for all its location in the western cornbelt rather than the urbanized east, both machines and behavior flowing therefrom are transcendent. There is one motor car to every five people, a radio in every other house, a wholesale retreat from the kitchen to the delicatessen store, an enormous subdivision of labour to the practical extinction of the jack-of-all-trades, a growing emphasis on money as the measure of all things, a growing uneasiness as to one's economic security, chronic unemployment, declining illiteracy in letters and mounting illiteracy in the worth of the goods one buys, a sharp increase in longevity, a growth in clubs and organizations at about the same dizzy rate which marks the decline in church activity, while 'most people over thirty get their recreation sitting down.'

"... There is no trace of local or regional economic self-sufficiency; the community is locked beyond recall into the highly delicate and interdependent economy of two hemispheres. If rubber from islands in the Indian Ocean should fail, the life of Middletown would go to pieces. Without tires for its cars it would be a child lost in the wilderness. Ninety-nine per cent of the products its own people make are shipped

<sup>2</sup> *The Nemesis of American Business and Other Essays* (New York: Macmillan, 1931. Pp. 191. Price \$2.00).

<sup>3</sup> *Mexico. A Study of Two Americas* (New York: Macmillan, 1931. Pp. vii, 338. Price \$3.00).

to the four quarters of the globe. Only one per cent is locally consumed. If these far markets fail—as they do to-day—repercussion is quick and deadly. The men of Middletown are on the streets. Cash they must have or starve. As wages and cash decline, purchasing power sinks with them, local merchants cease to make their usual . . . margins, 'for rent' signs appear on Main Street, a bank gurgles and expires, carrying the savings of a thousand households. . . .

"The future hangs like a great black raven over Middletown. In Tepoztlán the sky is clear. The corncrib takes the place of mortgage and installment contract. There is no car, no electric refrigerator, but there is economic security.

"... Handicraft peoples produce only for a specific need; all their output is essentially custom made. They fabricate the articles which enable them to cope with their environment, and little more. Their houses, clothing, utensils are adapted to maximum economy. . . . On top of prime essentials they demand the ageless human overlay of non-material goods—light, colour, dances, music, festival, worship—again with maximum economy.

"... Necessities for us are a blurred mass of both the functional and the non-functional; we have lost all idea of where the one leaves off and the other begins; we have no conception of what our basic biological and psychological needs are. As a result a vast tonnage of our production serves no need save emulation, keeping up with the Joneses and conspicuous consumption. . . . We are cluttered up with things essentially meaningless, and, being human, we flounder, puzzled and perplexed, trying to find values which will give meaning back to life."

Has Chase become another Rousseau romantically calling us back to a simple and even a primitive life? Hardly. In Chapter X of his *Nemesis of American Business* he describes a "Private Utopia" standing about midway between Middletown and Tepoztlán, and he urges the Mexican village to accept hygiene and sanitation, a "stiff injection" of scientific agriculture, electric power "*properly controlled*," and a tele-

graph wire and a long distance telephone. Moreover, the same time that he warns Mexico against "bolting industrialism raw as Middletown has bolted it," he gives the following advice to America's typical industrial inhabitants:

"You . . . do not desire to return to handicraft economy, and one would not want you to. You could not if you wished. But there are certain features of the early American way of life as typified in Mexico which, if you would acquire them, would make you more human and more happy. As your unemployed tramp from factory to factory, you might be thinking about a modicum of regional self-sufficiency. . . ; about more in the way of economic security, not in dollars but in goods. Even now your jobless are drifting back to the farms, but the farms are sinking too [Are they not sinking mainly because of mortgages and inflated land values?]. . . . The billion wild horses can be tamed only by a deliberate master plan which keeps over-production and unemployment in an iron grip. . . .

"It is almost time that you recovered from infantilism in your habits of recreation . . . and got back to genuine enjoyment with something of the [Mexican] fiesta spirit in it. You would have more fun if you developed handicrafts . . . for some of the more gifted of you, as a major occupation, using the backbone of cheap electric power which is coming fast in America. . . . In a genuine civilization there is room for mass production, for small-scale production, for handicrafts. . . .

"And why do you hustle around so fast, as though a hornet were forever behind your ear? Do you arrive anywhere with all this scrambling? Have you time to live as you gulp down your coffee and rush to the station, or to the garage, and back again? Mexico takes no back talk from clocks. It is an art which you too some day must learn; for it is the art of living."

Mr. Scoville Hamlin has acted upon the timely idea of having business experts in a dozen different fields present the difficulties which now confront them. The result is a chorus

which could hardly be more unanimous. The editorial title given to the summaries accurately expresses the major problem as viewed by the masters of finance and captains of industry. The title is *The Menace of Overproduction*.<sup>4</sup> These leaders are also almost unanimous in the remedy demanded: the control of production and the consolidation of business in large units. Presumably they wish this control to be effected by business with the consent and even the assistance of the national government, which would have to repeal the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. Such a procedure would give rise, however, to another problem which these leaders of business do not discuss; namely, the control of prices. Would enlightened self-interest induce these men to set the price with due regard for the consumer? If not, then would not the people demand an elective board to control prices? Moreover, consolidation of business on a huge scale would profoundly affect the bargaining power of labor. Who would set the wage scale, consolidated industry, labor, or a board of arbitration set up either by both or by the government?

Harry Laidler, an author and economist with decided socialistic leanings, discusses with apparent restraint the *Concentration of Control in American Industry*<sup>5</sup> and reaches the conclusion that consolidation is taking place rapidly in spite of the Sherman Anti-Trust Law. He then asks, "What of the future?" "Increasingly," he asserts, "the mass of the people are becoming convinced that the country cannot retrace its steps and return to small industry. Increasingly students of the subject are reaching the conclusion that the great industrial giants of to-day cannot remain in our midst free from social control, if the interests of the public are to be properly safeguarded." The Sherman Anti-Trust Law has already been repealed (Webb-Pomerene Act) as regards foreign trade. Perhaps its entire repeal will become a burning issue in the immediate future. Must external control of prices and wages, namely, control by the government, follow consolida-

<sup>4</sup> New York: John Wiley and Sons, 1930. Pp. 202. Price \$2.75.

<sup>5</sup> New York: Thomas Y. Crowell, 1931. Pp. ix, 531. Price \$3.75.



tion and control of production? "Increasingly," says Laidler, "the people are being driven to a choice between one of two courses of action: public regulation or public ownership." On the other hand, Dean Donham contends that "business must solve its own problems, for you cannot impose a high sense of social responsibility from outside without controlling all important decisions from outside" and destroying private initiative.

The business philosophers examined so far have placed main emphasis upon the domestic situation, although not without a consciousness that our domestic problems cannot be divorced from the world situation. Three recent books dealing with the broader aspects of the depression deserve careful examination.

The Assembly of the League of Nations has just issued a volume which describes in some detail the *Course and Phases of the World Economic Depression*,<sup>6</sup> a work which demonstrates profound research but is too technical for the average lay reader. Moreover, it is concerned with facts and not philosophy. It is mentioned here because of the realization that social and economic programs must be solidly based upon facts.

More significant perhaps is Ernest Minor Patterson's *The World's Economic Dilemma*.<sup>7</sup> The dilemma is summarized as follows: "a world whose economic life is highly interdependent and whose economic welfare can be advanced only by close coöperation, but a world whose economic life is almost of necessity organized along national lines, an organization which to a degree helps in each country to stabilize the local economy but often does it in a way that injures other countries and reacts directly or indirectly against itself."

Some of the specific phases of the dilemma are the problems of population pressure; international debts; numerous national systems of finance; ruthless competition for markets, raw materials essential for industry, and investment opportunities; tariffs; and economically illogical boundary lines. To

<sup>6</sup> Boston: World Peace Foundation, 1931. Pp. 355. Price \$3.00.

<sup>7</sup> New York: Whittlesey House, 1930. Pp. vii, 323. Price \$3.50.



find a way out of the dilemma is not easy, in view of selfishness, vested interests, and national and racial prejudices. "If there were some way of adjusting production. . . of quickly agreeing upon a national division of labor, of deciding calmly and promptly upon the articles in whose production each country has a comparative advantage, we might feel more complacent," remarks Professor Patterson.

He is not wholly pessimistic, however. He points to certain achievements: commercial treaties embodying mutual concessions, international trusts and cartels, international financial consortiums, and the influence of the International Chamber of Commerce and the League of Nations in encouraging financial and commercial adjustments. But he contends that the "difficulties are greater than is generally realized. The obstacles to a solution are not to be removed merely by appeals to goodwill. There are plenty of people in the world who desire peace. The time has come for the expert in social science. . . ."

Professor C. K. Leith, a noted geologist, deals with a part of only one phase of the world's economic dilemma, the problem of the control and use of world minerals.<sup>8</sup> With respect to these raw materials so valuable to the industry of many nations there is a high degree of economic interdependence but no adequate international control and coöperation. Even the United States, with its rich and varied mineral deposits, depends almost wholly upon foreign sources of supply for eight important minerals, while such countries as Great Britain and Germany must import fifteen and twenty respectively. Add to this list a host of non-mineral raw materials, and you will begin to have some conception of this single phase of the international problem. Can there be any doubt that modern civilization stands in need of planning on a world scale?

Such are some of the recent works prompted by our present crisis. When philosophers and business leaders consult with each other there is good reason for optimism. And if

<sup>8</sup> *World Minerals and World Politics* (New York: Whittlesey House, 1931. Pp. xii, 213. Price \$2.00).

ever our leading social philosophers—many of them will be found in our university departments of literature, history, sociology, government, education, economics, and psychology, as well as in some of our schools of jurisprudence and religion—if ever our social philosophers, statesmen, business leaders, and common men with a philosophical outlook decide to coöperate in a general movement in behalf of social justice and progress, the Great Society will eventually be achieved. If the present world crisis can bring them to such a decision, it will prove after all not to be a tragedy but merely a disease warning the race of a catastrophe which intelligence and determination may avoid.

# B · O · O · K · S

## A DIFFICULT TASK

THE EARLY OPPOSITION TO SIR ROBERT WALPOLE, 1720-1727. By Charles Bechdolt Realey. Lawrence: Bulletin of the University of Kansas, Humanistic Studies, Vol. 4, Nos. II and III, 1931. Pp. iii, 280.

Dr. Realey essayed a difficult task. In 1720 Walpole and Townshend gave up their rôles as leaders and inspirers of the opposition and joined the ministry. The next coherent opposition began to make itself felt under Pulteney and Bolingbroke in 1726. The years between need charting. They challenge the best in an apprentice who would offer his initial piece as a member of the guild of English historians.

To say that Dr. Realey's work is creditable to him and that he has thrown many rays of light on dark places is not to attribute to him a measure of success he would probably be the last to claim for himself. He could have selected few short periods for an understanding of which an intimate and detailed knowledge of the facts and personalities of the previous decades is so imperative. Walpole, Townshend, Atterbury, Sunderland, Pulteney, Bolingbroke, and the rest remembered years of friendships or enmities, debts unpaid, grudges unavenged. To trace all the warp and woof of events which went to make the pattern discernible in the fabric of English political life in 1720 would require work for the better part of a generation. Dr. Realey had for his venture only a few years. On the whole he deserves congratulation for the use he made of them.

W. T. LAPRADE.

## NEGRO ACHIEVEMENT

WOMEN BUILDERS. By Sadie Iola Daniel. The Associated Publishers: Washington, D. C., 1931. Pp. xviii, 187. 28 illustrations.

To assist in the need for books depicting the achievements of the Negro race in various lines of endeavor the present volume offers seven sketches of women who have definitely contributed to the development of Negro youth in the United States. After listing notable Negro women who have been active in education, social service, business, and the fine arts, the author devotes the text to seven pioneers who were "builders of educational, financial, and social institutions."

The book opens with the story of Lucy Craft Laney, founder of Haines Normal and Industrial Institute, Augusta, Georgia. Then follow the stories of Maggie L. Walker, founder and president of a bank

in Richmond, Virginia, and high officer in a fraternal insurance company; Jane Porter Barrett, founder of the Virginia Industrial School for Colored Girls; Mary McLeod Bethune, founder of Bethune-Cookman College, the only accredited institution of its kind in south Florida; Nannie Helen Burroughs, founder of the National Training School for Women and Girls, Washington, D. C., the only educational institution that has ever gained national scope almost wholly on Negro contributions and under Negro management; Charlotte Hawkins Brown, founder and principal of the Palmer Memorial Institute, Sedalia, North Carolina; and Jane Edna Hunter, founder of the Phyllis Wheatley Association, an institution intended to supply adequate housing, to secure suitable employment, and to furnish recreation to Negro girls in Cleveland, Ohio.

The lives of these seven pioneers are told briefly with emphasis devoted to meagre beginnings, personal sacrifice, great odds, and final triumph. Religious conviction and missionary fervor pervade the volume which is worth reading for its amazing revelation of the achievements of these representatives of the Negro race.

ALAN K. MANCHESTER.

### A SIGNIFICANT PERIOD

*CROWDED YEARS. THE REMINISCENCES OF WILLIAM G. McADOO.* Boston and New York: Houghton Mifflin Company, 1931. Pp. x, 542. \$5.00.

Woodrow Wilson was president of the United States in an era crowded with significant events. Through connection with him many men who might otherwise have remained obscure were lifted to a position which will insure them at least a line in world history and no less than several paragraphs in the history of the United States. Some of them were already men of parts when they met Woodrow Wilson, although their statures were immensely enlarged by their subsequent contacts with him. To this latter class belongs William Gibbs McAdoo, who, along with Newton D. Baker, has been rather slow to appear in print.

In the writing of these reminiscences Mr. McAdoo was assisted by the able Southern writer, W. E. Woodward, a circumstance which makes it difficult to determine how much the finished product really reveals of McAdoo. That the style is largely that of Woodward will appear evident to anyone who takes the trouble to compare *Crowded Years* with Woodward's life of Washington (published in 1926). Are some of the thoughts also those of Woodward? It is difficult to say.

As is well known, William Gibbs McAdoo has had a rather remarkable career. Born of a Georgia mother and a Tennessee father at Marietta, Georgia, on October 31, 1863, he spent his childhood and youth in poverty. Yet he was more fortunate than the average Southern boy of his day, for his father was a college graduate and a lawyer and his mother possessed decided intellectual interests. Young William did not finish his Junior year at the University of Tennessee, and began the practice of law without entering a law school. His early success in practice is measured by the fact that at the end of six years he had managed to save twenty-five thousand dollars. By 1892, however, it was clear that he possessed far greater gifts as a promoter, despite the fact that his effort to electrify the street railways of Knoxville ended in his bankruptcy. Undaunted, however, he moved his family to New York and set up a law office with money secured by a mortgage on his wife's home. Here his predisposition for promotion soon revealed itself by the combination of law and the selling of bonds. His real opportunity did not come until 1901 when he managed to interest some of the leading financiers of New York in his project of building the Hudson Tunnels. To the construction and operation of this large enterprise he devoted the next eleven years of his life, and before the end of the period he had made a name for himself. In 1909 he met Woodrow Wilson, who was then president of Princeton University. His old interest in politics, an interest revealed as early as 1884, returned. Thereafter he spent more and more of his time in promoting the political fortunes of Woodrow Wilson.

McAdoo says that he supported Wilson without any thought of political reward. Perhaps it is true that he could have had no conception of the high eminence to which Wilson would soon lift both him and many others who served as the political organizers of this remarkable man. A little more than four years after his chance meeting with Wilson on that cold February in Princeton, New Jersey, McAdoo was Wilson's secretary of the treasury. Within a little more than five years he was Wilson's son-in-law. And in 1924 he was a candidate for the Democratic nomination for the presidency, hoping, no doubt, to reach his goal largely through the support of the followers of the late president.

The narrative of this busy and significant career is told in excellent style, spiced with humor and invigorated by fearlessness. McAdoo does not hesitate to express political opinions, and emphatic views of the men with whom he came in contact. Nor does he hesitate to set forth ad-

ministrative policies for the future. Space does not permit illustrations of thought and style. *Crowded Years* is a volume which every citizen should read.

J. FRED RIPPY.

#### BOOK THAT WON PRIZE AWARD

BURN'T OFFERING. By Jeanne Galzy. Introduction and Translation by Jacques Le Clerq. Brentano's: New York, 1930. Pp. xiv, 265. \$2.50.

An interesting tale of vicarious mother love so common to school-mistresses. Missing her own romance after a brief flare-up during the war, the heroine gives her affections to one of her little pupils, nurses her through the crisis of a severe case of pneumonia, and is then separated from her forever. The background is Amiens, but it is very lightly sketched. The main interest is the psychological study of the teacher. It is too bad that the translator did not have an editor willing to prune out a score of awkward renderings. Originally published as *L'Initiatrice aux Mains Vides*, it won the 1930 award of the Prix Brentano, established "to encourage Franco-American cultural relations by bringing to the American public in translation each year a book which will illustrate eminently the French cultural ideal."

F. A. G. COWPER.

#### BIOGRAPHY OF A PRESIDENT

FRANKLIN PIERCE. YOUNG HICKORY OF THE GRANITE HILLS. By Roy Franklin Nichols. Philadelphia: 1931. Pp. xvii, 615. \$5.00.

This is a first-rate biography of a second-rate man. After reading it, one is not surprised (yet one is sorry) that New Hampshire was slow to honor her only presidential son. Pierce was a Jacksonian Democrat who was carried high by his party during its ascendancy in his native state. Educated at Bowdoin, trained as a lawyer, and connected with a politically prominent family (his father became governor of the state), Pierce was successively a member of the legislature, speaker of the house, representative in Congress, and then senator. From the last position he resigned, partly because there was little chance of succeeding himself and partly because neither he nor his wife cared to live in Washington. After a rather inglorious career as a brigadier-general in the Mexican War, he declined Polk's offer of the attorney-generalship of the United States. But Pierce was destined for Washington. The Baltimore convention of 1852, because it could do no better, nominated him for the presidency.

Unfortunately, however, he arrived in Washington as a compromise choice who "lacked the devoted services of any faction whose position and power depended upon his success." He attempted in vain to unite the party and meet the approval of the country when he recognized opposing factions and sections in selecting his cabinet and distributing the patronage. As a consequence, factional strife was carried into the midst of his administration. Jefferson Davis was the only member of his cabinet of more than local significance. Pierce was never able to handle the patronage problem. He was too trusting, too indecisive, and too ready to make promises. Furthermore, he lacked loyal personal friends; on occasions he was without a spokesman in the House or Senate. Like his predecessor, Fillmore, Pierce did not attempt to lead Congress; in fact, he did not consider it his constitutional duty to do so; he was ready to recognize the coordinate nature of the legislative and executive branches. Unwilling to lead Congress, he could not lead the country. The administration had no effective newspaper organ in Washington and none at all in New York City.

When Pierce came into office, he sought to launch a vigorous expansion policy. But fate intervened: Sickles, Soulé, and slavery were too much. Pierce thought the ghost of slavery had been laid aside forever by the Compromise of 1850, but he knew otherwise when he was forced to deal with Douglas, squatter sovereignty, and Kansas and Nebraska. There was no end of difficulties. The North and East were dissatisfied because of the execution of the fugitive slave law and the situation in Kansas; Pierce's expansion policy was not supported, and he was accused of being a southern sympathizer. On the other hand, the South resented the failure of his Cuban policy. Meanwhile, the Know-Nothing party arose to plague him, and in 1854 the Democratic majority in the House was destroyed.

Pierce was in no sense a constructive statesman. "He would administer government by strict adherence to precedent rather than by creative statesmanship." He was a legalist. "If he had a rule or statute to follow, he would stick to it through thick and thin. In matters without rules . . . he floundered." Perhaps Alexander H. Stephens voiced the consensus of opinion when he recorded on the day Congress met in 1854: "Everything is flat. Nobody cared a cent for the message or anything else. I don't believe that the tide of popular feeling or popular interest in public affairs ever ran so low as at present in this or any other free country." It was impossible for Pierce to win a re-nomina-



tion in 1856. Not until after Buchanan had been nominated did the convention pass a resolution endorsing Pierce's administration. He was opposed to the Civil War, even his loyalty to the Union was questioned, yet he never excused the South for attempting to destroy the Union. He bitterly condemned the emancipation proclamation on the ground that it was too much to ask thousands of white men to sacrifice their lives for the ignorant Negroes who would not appreciate their freedom.

Professor Nichols treats Pierce as a type, but at the same time he succeeds in picturing him as an individual. The record is complete, even to the point of including petty political bickerings and details about the weather. On many of the major issues of Pierce's administration—such as the Kansas-Nebraska affair—there is little that is new. This may be an advantage, for Pierce is not obscured by displaced emphasis. This will probably stand as the definitive life of Pierce. It is based upon the sources, including many private letters; it has an imposing bibliography; and it bears all the ear-marks of exhaustive research. Unfortunately, it is not thoroughly documented and the references rest in obscurity at the end of the book.

R. H. WOODY.

#### TWO NOTABLE CONTRIBUTIONS

NELSON W. ALDRICH, A LEADER IN AMERICAN POLITICS. By Nathaniel Wright Stephenson. New York: Scribner's, 1930. Pp. 496. \$5.00.

In the publication of this work Professor Stephenson has made two notable contributions to American history: he has written a biography of a very influential statesman and he has pointed out in the footnotes a wealth of source materials which may some day be used by others interested in the political careers of Aldrich's opponents and associates.

Mr. Aldrich was a very active participant in national politics for thirty-five eventful years following the reconstruction period—an era of great complexity and no little bitterness. Mr. Stephenson has made the main outlines of the political events of these years fairly clear, despite his flair for speculation and (what seems to be) his disposition to attribute to the politicians more shrewdness and mystery than they possessed. This and unnecessary verbiage in a too obvious effort at style are the main defects of the work. A minor error is his reference to the Dominican Republic as San Domingo or the "black republic". Scholars familiar with the subject will agree that the latter term applies only to Haiti.

In Professor Stephenson's narration the sordidness of American politics during the period stands revealed. If there were potent ideals operating during the time, he fails to reveal them. To the present reviewer, it appears that the picture is somewhat overdrawn, materialistic as the age undoubtedly was. Perhaps this may be explained by the fact that Nelson Aldrich was the political representative of those powerful interests who set out to capture fortunes regardless of the welfare of the masses or the future of their country. A little more attention to Bryan, Cummings, La Follette, and Wilson would have relieved the sombre portrait.

Mr. Aldrich is fortunate in his biographer. Few writers would have been as sympathetic toward their subject. The proletariat and the middle class of the time looked upon Aldrich as a monster. Perhaps he was not quite that, but he was the coldly selfish instrument of men who were bent upon accumulating fortunes at the expense of the opportunities and the happiness of the American people; and if he had any humanitarian tendencies, Mr. Stephenson does not succeed in revealing them. Aldrich started out with nothing; he married a woman of moderate wealth; he raised a large family, most of whom married into rich families; and he left a fortune of at least seven million dollars. If he made any contributions save to campaign funds, the author fails to mention any of them. If it had not been for the able opposition of La Follette, Bryan, Wilson, and—in his later career—of Roosevelt, the uncompromising and reactionary rule of Joe Cannon and Aldrich might have provoked a revolution ending in tragedy for the American experiment. Biography presents its warnings as well as its inspirations.

J. FRED RIPPY.

#### ANOTHER GALSWORTHY NOVEL

MAID IN WAITING. By John Galsworthy. New York: Charles Scribner's Sons. Pp. 362. \$2.50.

Always of interest is the announcement of a new novel by John Galsworthy, but of especial interest is the publication of Mr. Galsworthy's first novel in four years, satisfying as it does the curiosity of those of us who have been wondering just what Mr. Galsworthy would turn his hand to after disposing of the Forsytes. The answer is to be found in the newly-published *Maid in Waiting*, in which Mr. Galsworthy shows that the Forsytes are far from completely banished from his mind; for Fleur, Michael Mont, Sir Lawrence Mont, and Hilary Charwell—all familiar to readers of *A Modern Comedy*—appear from

time to time in the course of the story, while it is Hilary Charwell's niece Dinny and nephew Hubert who play principal parts in the story.

Hubert, who has accompanied Professor Hallorsen, an American, on an expedition to Bolivia, finds himself in difficulties shortly after his return to England following the failure of the expedition. While in Bolivia, Hubert has found it necessary to shoot in self-defense one of the half-caste muleteers; and this incident, among others, Hallorsen publishes in an account of the expedition, the failure of which he blames on Hubert. The shooting of the half-caste is brought up in Parliament, investigation instituted, and Hubert faces extradition to the Bolivian authorities on a charge of murder.

It is this situation that Dinny takes a hand in to save her brother, who, naturally reticent, shrinks from setting forth his own justification. She essays all possible channels of assistance for her brother, beginning with securing a retraction from Hallorsen, in London on research, and ending with carrying the case to the home secretary, upon whom the final decision rests. Fortunately she has admirable help, first from Jean Tasburgh, a charming English girl whom Dinny hopefully selects as a possible mate for Hubert with that characteristic unselfishness that caused someone to remark that she would make a good maid-in-waiting, and then from Jean's brother, Alan, and Professor Hallorsen, both of whom become devotees of Dinny's.

Their combined efforts to rescue Hubert from a situation that hourly grows more serious comprise the main plot; but it is not the only plot of the story. Running concurrently with it is the sub-plot which involves Dinny's Uncle Adrian and Diana Ferse and her mad husband, included presumably only because Diana and Dinny are friends and Dinny plays a small part in the ensuing action.

Having turned aside from the Forsytes to a different sort of people, Mr. Galsworthy changes somewhat his style of writing in accordance. His dialogue has suddenly become brilliant—too brilliant, one is tempted to say—for the thought occurs that only Mr. Galsworthy is quite so brilliant, and not his characters. Moreover, the story moves along at a much more rapid rate of speed than *The Forsyte Saga* and *A Modern Comedy*. One reads it breathlessly to find out what is to happen, and this is slightly disconcerting to one who is accustomed to linger over his Galsworthy, as over an after-dinner cup of coffee brewed just right, to enjoy it. And though one may enjoy the rapid action of the story while he is reading it, he is likely, after laying the book aside, to come to the conclusion that the story suffers from over-emphasis of plot,

that the characters move around so much that he really never has an opportunity to become acquainted with them, and that the insanity sub-plot, while admirably done, would have been better not done at all.

If *Maid in Waiting* had been written by a lesser novelist, one would pronounce it without hesitation a novel of excellence; but coming from Mr. Galsworthy, of whom one has come to expect so much, and containing elements of greatness though it does, it leaves one slightly disappointed. It does not maintain the high standard of *The Forsyte Saga* in general nor attain to the sheer genius of the interlude, *Indian Summer of a Forsyte*, in particular. Its delineations, though Hallorsen as the energetic, capable American and Hubert as the reserved, rather irritating Englishman are clear enough as types, are not the sharp, clear-cut delineations of *The Forsyte Saga* and *A Modern Comedy*. One forms a great liking for Dinny, though he does not always "get" her as easily as he does Jean, to whom much less space is devoted; and neither is done with the definitiveness of Irene in the *Saga* nor Fleur in the *Comedy*.

Had Miss Rebecca West made her pronouncement that Mr. Galsworthy is an angel, but his work minor after reading *Maid in Waiting* instead of *The Forsyte Saga*, one would feel more inclined to agree with her. For *Maid in Waiting*, though it is a fascinating book, contains faults that cause one to rate it among Mr. Galsworthy's secondary novels.

C. L. CLINE.

#### MEMORIAL VOLUME

ROYSTER MEMORIAL STUDIES. Edited by Louis B. Wright, N. B. Adams, Douglas MacMillan, Raymond Adams, G. A. Harrer. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press. 1931. Pp. ix, 329.

This volume, reprinted from *Studies in Philology*, is appropriately dedicated to the memory of James Finch Royster (1880-1930), Kenan Professor of English Philology and Dean of the Graduate School at the University of North Carolina and also editor of *Studies in Philology*. The list of contributors, former pupils, colleagues, and friends of Professor Royster, is a distinguished one. The range of material included is far too wide for one reader to pass judgment upon. The present reviewer has, however, been particularly impressed by John M. Manly's "Tales of the Homeward Journey," George F. Reynolds's "Literature for an Audience," and Gregory Paine's "Cooper and *The North American Review*." Remembering Professor Royster's connection with the

journal, well might Edwin Greenlaw conclude his dedicatory note: "With the history of *Studies in Philology*, therefore, the name of James Finch Royster will forever be associated. To the memory of an inspiring teacher, an acute scholar, and a friend of the propagation of learning, this number of the journal is dedicated."

J. B. H.

### A FASCINATING BIOGRAPHY

BRET HARTE, ARGONAUT AND EXILE—Being an account of the life of the celebrated American Humorist, author of *The Luck of Roaring Camp*, *Condensed Novels*, *The Heathen Chinee*, *Tales of the Argonauts*, etc. Compiled from new and original sources by George R. Stewart, Jr. With illustrations. Boston and New York: The Houghton Mifflin Company. 1931. Pp. xii, 385. \$5.00.

Earlier lives of Bret Harte are inadequate, either because material was scanty or the biographer did not master his subject. In 1926 Geoffrey Bret Harte published a volume of his grandfather's letters, which threw a great deal of light on Harte's last years. Professor Stewart has made excellent use of this material and done much to clear up the early years of Harte's life in California. He has managed to piece out the story of Harte's literary and non-literary activities before "The Luck of Roaring Camp" made him famous almost overnight. Professor Stewart is the first to give any real background for Harte's life and writing. He has worked on the subject for eight years. He has "visited every place of importance in connection with Harte's life, and . . . made an honest effort to find all the extant information about him." Any one studying Harte's life, as Professor Stewart notes, "is confronted by decided difficulties resulting from the great destruction of records of the early West, from the legend which rapidly developed about him, from his own comparative obscurity before the age of thirty, from his extreme reticence about himself, and from his romantic imagination, which colored what few reminiscences he did leave." Under these unusual difficulties, Professor Stewart has produced not only the only dependable life of Bret Harte: he has written one of the most fascinating of recent books.

JAY B. HUBBELL.

### HISTORIC SOUTHERN CITY

CHARLESTON, HISTORIC AND ROMANTIC. By Harriette Kershaw Leiding. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Co., 1931. Pp. 293. \$3.50.

Pointing with pride to this city with a past, but without viewing with alarm the promise of the future, Mrs. Leiding draws upon a vast store

of knowledge to sketch in outline the story of an urban civilization. But the vastness of the scene does not obscure the details which complete the picture. The author describes the layout of the city, locates its streets, bridges, and creeks, delineates its houses, manners, and amusements, names its artists and artisans, gives us fact and gossip about the city's great and near great. Since the history of Charleston was the history of South Carolina for the first hundred years, or longer, there is a definite need for a thorough study of the life and institutions of this city. Charleston was the political, economic, and social center of the state. The leaders of its aristocracy, such as the Rutledges, Laurens, Pinckneys, Gadsdens, Middletons, and so on, were deservedly distinguished. They were well-traveled, cultured, learned in law, agriculture, and politics, and not nearly so provincial as would appear at first glance. The charming Charleston women possessed all the social graces and maintained at all times the reserve and dignity appropriate to their station. There were, of course, Charlestonians who were outside the aristocracy, but they have not yet won the favor of the historian.

The author has presented in popular form much interesting and useful information, but she has made no attempt at completeness. One feels that a topical treatment rather than a chronological one would have prevented much confusion and saved the book from becoming, as it sometimes does, a medley of unrelated facts. Too much space is devoted to politics and war. The author has failed, as one inevitably would, to explain the uniqueness of this city of the Old South, a uniqueness to be felt and experienced rather than explained. The proof-reading has been careless. Misspelled names include those of Alexander H. Stephens, B. F. Perry, James Chesnut, Peter Freneau, W. J. Whipper, and A. J. Ransier. There are eighty illustrations.

R. H. WOODY.

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Statement of the ownership, management, circulation, etc., of THE SOUTH ATLANTIC QUARTERLY, published quarterly at Durham, N. C., by the South Atlantic Publishing Company.

Managing Editor: Henry R. Dwire, Durham, N. C.

Secretary & Treasurer: D. W. Newsom, Durham, N. C.

Publishers: Duke University Press, Durham, N. C.

Owners: W. P. Few, R. L. Flowers, W. H. Glasson, W. H. Wannamaker, A. M. Webb, W. I. Cranford, W. K. Boyd, D. W. Newsom, Estate of W. F. Gill, Estate of G. W. Watts, J. F. Wily, Estate of J. E. Stagg, J. S. Hill, Estate of J. S. Carr, Jones Fuller, Estate of H. R. Goodall, W. W. Flowers, Estate of J. H. Southgate, R. P. Reade, all of Durham, N. C.

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My commission expires August 7, 1932.

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